...Plain Mr. JINNAH

SYED SHAMSUL HASAN



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Selections from Quaid-e-Azam's correspondence relating mainly to personal matters, with notes and introduction by Syed Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League.

SELECTIONS FROM SHAMSUL HASAN COLLECTION: VOLUME I.

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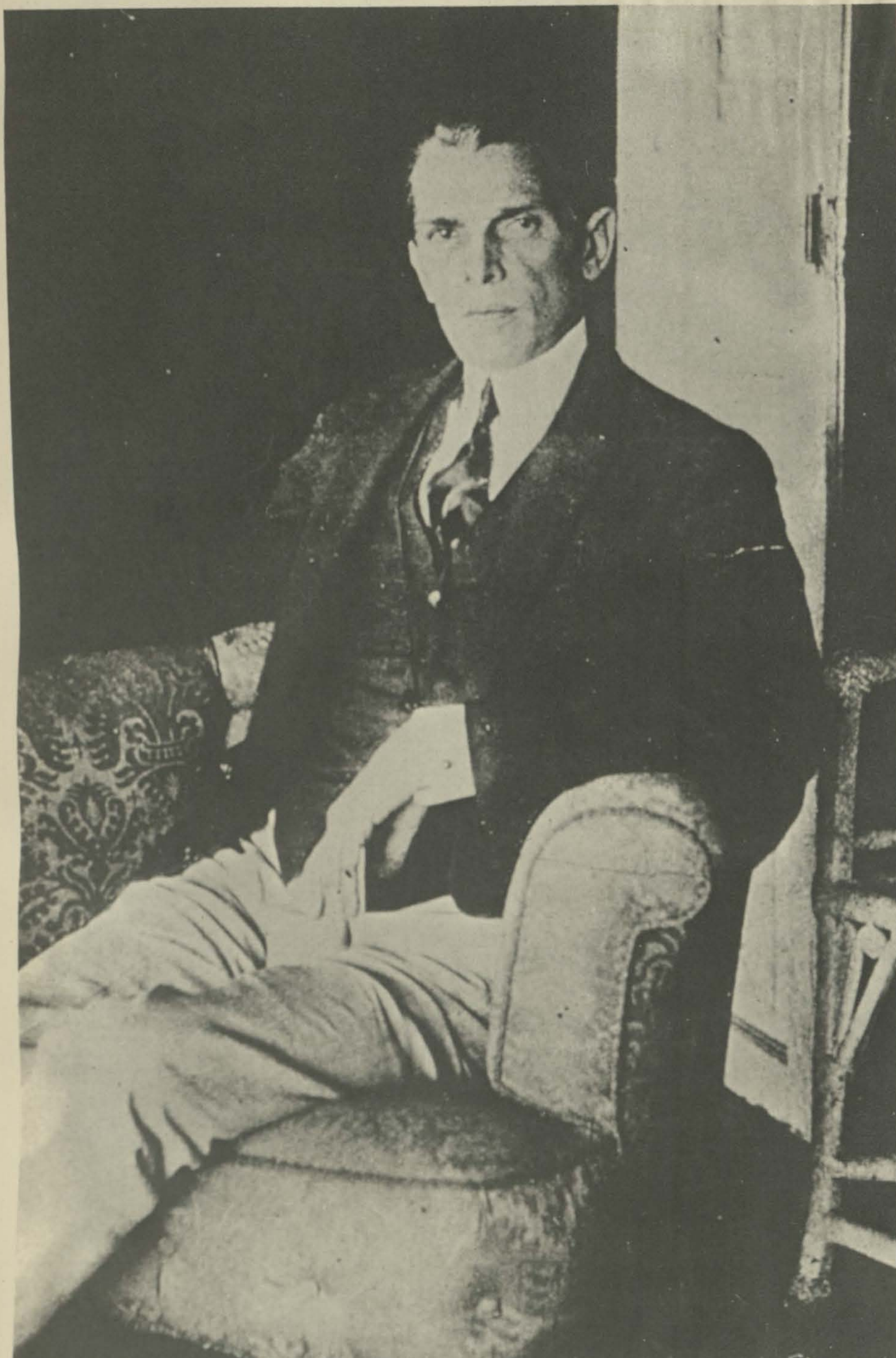
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DEDICATED TO THAT SCATTERED CROWD OF MUSLIMS OF THE SUBCONTINENT WHOM QUAID-E-AZAM WELDED INTO A NATION.

CONTENTS



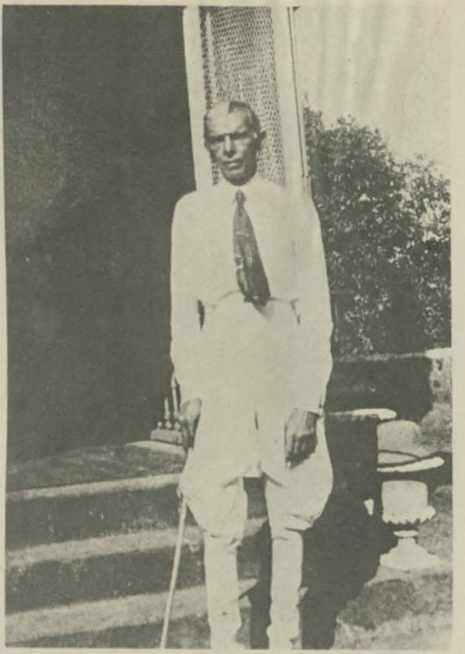
The picture of a statesman



Mrs. Mariam Jinnah



No horseman was he. But in Pehlgam
(Kashmir) a pony ride was a thing to do.



Dressed for a pony ride.



A rare thing to take time off from his political preoccupations.
And when the Quaid did, he still was not completely in a vacant mood.



Trees, water and a house-boat—a perfect setting for a peaceful holiday in Pehlgam, (Kashmir).



Away from the hum-drum of political calls, the brother and sister enjoying a breath of fresh air. The car parked alongside.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

A Sacred Trust

The hour for the inevitable partition of India was fast approaching. The historic midnight of 14th August 1947 lay only a week ahead. A new State was being carved out under the leadership of the Quaid. The history of the Indian subcontinent was turning a new leaf.

The Quaid was in Delhi, preparing to fly over to Karachi on August 7, when I received his message from 10, Aurangzeb Road, requiring me to see him immediately.

On arrival at his residence, I was told by Khurshid that the Quaid was waiting for me in his study; and I was promptly shown in. Attired in white *kurta* and *shalwar*, the Quaid was reclining in an easy-chair, engrossed in studying some papers. Seeing me enter the room, he put aside the papers; and removing his monocle with his characteristic gesture, he enquired about the situation prevailing in the city. I told him about the worsening communal tension, and also apprised him of the apprehension of the Muslims that an organized plan for their wholesale massacre was in the offing.

The Quaid was deeply perturbed at this information, and referred to the Hindu monstrosities in East Punjab where a planned massacre of Muslims was deliberately being allowed to

continue unabated, despite the assurances given by Lord Mountbatten and Pandit Nehru during their recent talks with him. He also referred to the continuation of the curbs which the Delhi Government had imposed on DAWN in July 1947, restraining it from publishing full accounts of Hindu-Muslim riots[1].

I had never seen the Quaid so depressed and agitated. I tried to pacify him by telling him that though the violence and sufferings to which Muslims were being subjected were indeed inhuman, they were, nevertheless, facing the Hindu atrocities gallantly in the religious hope that what they were willingly sacrificing was but a price for their new Homeland.

After a few minutes, the Quaid led me to an adjacent room; and pointing towards a stack of gunny bags, he told me that they contained some of his personal letters and papers, which he asked to take with me. I enquired whether I had to destroy or preserve them. He replied: "No. I shall like you to see that they are not destroyed in the holocaust. You keep them in your personal custody". I, therefore, brought those bags to my house. The next day, I left Delhi for Karachi to attend the ceremonies that were to herald the birth of Pakistan on August 14.

I returned to Delhi on August 21, where I was arrested under Section 304 I.P.C. I was released after some time on bail. As it was then no longer possible for me to stay at Delhi, I flew over to Lahore with my family in the last week of September. We could not bring any of our personal belongings, but managed somehow to bring the bags containing the Quaid's papers.

Towards the end of October 1947, the Quaid came on a visit to Lahore. Khurshid was on leave, and had gone to Srinagar. The other members of the Governor-General's staff did not know me. In the circumstances, it was difficult to see the Quaid without prior appointment. It was by sheer chance that I met Miss Jinnah, who was coming back to the Government House from somewhere. She saw me outside the gate and took me personally to the Quaid.

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[1] The Order was served on me as its printer and publisher in July 1947 by the Delhi Government.

When I was ushered into the presence of the Quaid, I was shocked to see him. Frail and weak he always was; but during the few weeks following August 14, 1947, he had become a spectre of his old self—a picture of utter exhaustion. He enquired about the happenings in Delhi. I narrated the gruesome details. In a voice choked with emotion, he told me that he had not been able to sleep for days, and that he was doing whatever was possible to improve the situation. He was very bitter with the Indian leadership. He accused them of having accepted Partition with reservations, and denounced them for trying to destroy Pakistan at the very outset. Making visible efforts to control his emotions, he added: "The Musalmans of the Subcontinent cannot be destroyed by these tactics. They have now a homeland; and with hard work they shall, *Insha Allah*, make it powerful." His voice still rings in my ears. Abruptly, he changed the subject and began to talk about the shifting of the Muslim League Office from Delhi and establishing it at Karachi. He directed me to proceed to Karachi and to start working right away.

As I took his leave, he enquired about the papers he had entrusted to me. I told him that they were the only thing that I could bring from Delhi. With a faint smile, he said: "Do not make use of them for some time, say 20 years. Then publish them. The Musalmans must know the difficulties we faced in organizing them, and the details of how the battle for Pakistan was fought and won."

I met the Quaid at Karachi quite a few times before he left for Ziarat during his last illness in 1948. It was only once that he broached the subject of the papers and enquired whether I had arranged and sorted them. I informed him that I had not done anything with them, as I was busy setting up the League Office. He told me afresh not to publish them for at least twenty years.

I have accordingly preserved these papers as a sacred trust. They relate to both the Quaid's personal as well as political life. They comprise his personal letters along with his correspondence with Indian Muslims, workers and leaders of the Muslim League. These letters roughly cover the period between 1942 and 1946. The collection, however, does not contain the Quaid's entire correspondence of that period. The correspondence with the leaders

of the Indian National Congress, representatives and officials of the British and Indian Governments, etc., was not in the bags which were handed over to me. Hence, those letters are not included in the collection which, to differentiate from other collections, is being called 'Shamsul Hasan Collection'.

I can testify from my personal knowledge that the Quaid never destroyed any paper; he preserved each one of them. The rest of his correspondence must be a part of the material which was removed from *Qasr-e-Fatima* after the death of Miss Jinnah, and was handed over to the Karachi University. It was later shifted to Islamabad.

Millions of us cherish everything connected with the Quaid as a precious relic; yet no systematic attempt has been made to collect and preserve the related material which could give a true picture of the contemporary events and day-to-day account of the Quaid's activities.

About ten years ago, in a dream I saw an imposing structure amidst lush green lawns, situated about half a mile away from the Quaid-e-Azam Mausoleum—the building of Quaid-e-Azam Museum and Research Institute. I saw a very spacious hall; its walls covered with numerous portraits and photographs of Quaid-e-Azam, his colleagues and of various events, and sundry articles of his daily use, like his monocles, clothes, shoes and other things on display in glass cases. One section contained his furniture, carpets, etc., and was furnished like his drawing room at 10, Aurangzeb Road, Delhi. I saw rooms full of shelves containing volumes of printed books and unpublished material, newspapers and periodicals. I dreamt that all the material of historical nature relating to the Muslim freedom movement had been collected and preserved in this 'Institute'.

That was a dream. During the last ten years only a part of it has come true. The Mausoleum has just been completed. I do not know how many more years it may take before my dream is fulfilled; but I firmly believe that one day it will come true.

A dangerous trend has of late developed among writers as a result of non-availability of authentic source-material. In

some of the writings, a picture of the Quaid—different from what he really was—has been presented by these authors with a view to justifying their own role in some particular situations, thus distorting the truth. Such attempts, I am sure, will be exposed in due course of time. All the same, we should be on guard against this trend; otherwise, the history of this phase of our struggle, which has not yet been written in its true perspective, might be marred with some deliberate inexactitudes and incorrect versions.

Before I deal with the letters which are being published in this volume, I feel it necessary to outline a brief history of the All India Muslim League and the glorious part the Quaid played in Muslim politics.

My association with the All India Muslim League dates back to July 1914, when I joined its service. I remained its Assistant Secretary, in charge of the Central Office, till 1948 when it was bifurcated. Later, I was in charge of the All Pakistan Muslim League office till October 1958 when, along with other political parties, the League, too, was banned under Martial Law. Thus, I have witnessed from its own platform the League's phenomenal growth from a politicians' club into a mass organization, which succeeded in carving out a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Sub-continent.

The Foundation of the League

The All India Muslim League was founded at a meeting of eminent Muslims held under the presidentship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk on December 30, 1906, at Dacca and took about a year's time for being properly organized. The Dacca meeting had appointed a provisional Committee consisting of fifty-seven members, with Nawab Mohsinul Mulk and Nawab Viqarul Mulk as the Joint Secretaries to draft out a constitution for the League in four months time. The Committee was also authorized to convene another meeting for the approval of the constitution.

Due to the serious illness of Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, the Committee could not prepare the draft constitution within four months. It was prepared by mid-1907 and was circulated among the Muslim leaders for their opinion. Finally, it was presented

at a meeting held at Karachi on December 29 and 30, 1907, under the chairmanship of Sir Adamji Peerbhai. The constitution was approved unanimously. In accordance with this constitution,[2] 71 members formed the All India Muslim League with powers to set up provincial branches; elect additional members representing the various provincial branches to the Central League; establish its Office and elect the office-bearers and a 40-man Central Committee.

The All India Muslim League, as formed under the said constitution, had its first meeting at Aligarh on March 18 and 19, 1908, under the presidentship of Mian (later Justice Sir) Shah Din of Lahore. This meeting, after electing additional members from various provinces, decided to establish the Central Office of the League at Aligarh, and elected the Aga Khan as its president;[3] Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami as Honorary Secretary; and Haji Mohammad Moosa Khan as Joint Secretary for a term of 3 years. It was in this meeting that the organizational structure of the League was completed.

The first formal Annual Session of the League was held in Amritsar under the presidentship of Ali Imam from December 30 to 31, 1908.[4] The Session was largely attended.

The main topic was the League's policy regarding Minto-Morley Reforms. After much discussion in the Subjects Committee, three resolutions were drafted for presentation in the open Session. In the first resolution, the Secretary of State and the Viceroy were thanked "for the broad and general policy foreshadowed in the Despatch dealing with the Reforms Scheme". The other resolution was, in general terms, critical of the Despatch of the Secretary of State as it did not explicitly confirm "the just pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the address presented by a deputation of Musalmans in October, 1906", and demanded that "important pronouncement will specifically be confirmed by the Secretary of State and given clear recognition for

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[2] The constitution was published with an introduction by Nawab Viqarul Mulk in 1909. Its text is given in Appendix 1.

[3] The Aga Khan was re-elected as the president for a term of 2 years in the Delhi Session held from January 29 to 31, 1910.

[4] A person, other than the president of the organization, presided over the League's Annual Sessions. From 1937 onward, the president of the organization presided over the Sessions.

fixing the proportion of seats in the Council by purely Mohammadan Electorates". The last resolution specifically referred to paragraph 12 of the Despatch, and condemned the vagueness of language employed therein.

On the question of thanking the Secretary of State, there was difference of opinion. Some members strongly felt that the League should not thank the Secretary of State, as his Despatch conflicted with the aspirations of Muslims. As the matter was sensitive, with a view to avoiding any discussion in the open Session, it was decided that the president should move the three resolutions himself. But when the resolutions were moved, discussion on them could not be withheld. Mian Mohammed Shafi, Nawab Ali Chaudhry and Maulana Mohammed Ali, besides others, participated in the discussion and the Despatch was strongly criticised. The resolutions, however, were ultimately adopted unanimously.

The League's stand was not liked by the Government. Efforts were made to induce the League to revise its policy. In early 1909, Ali Imam came out through an open letter with an appeal to the Muslims to reconsider the issue. He urged that separate electorates would not be beneficial to the Muslims; and instead, advocated that joint electorates with reservation of a certain number of seats would serve the Muslim interests better. The opinion expressed by Syed Ali Imam caused much concern. A meeting of the League was called on May 23, 1909, at Lucknow to consider the situation.

Some correspondence relating to this meeting and discussion over the issue is available. Khan Bahadur Col. Abdul Majeed Khan, Minister, Patiala, who had been a member of the Simla Deputation, in a letter dated May 20, 1909, wrote that as the League had already laid down its policy, the issue should not be reopened. Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzand Ahmed writing on May 21, 1909, from Bankipore, however, supported Ali Imam. Other letters show that the question was given careful thought by the League leaders. In a letter dated May 19, 1909, in which the question was not dealt with directly, A.W.J. Archbold, Principal, M.A.O. College, also made certain suggestions. The letter is addressed to Nawab Viqarul Mulk. Its facsimile is reproduced in Appendix II. The meeting held at Lucknow

on May 23, 1909, did not agree with Ali Imam's views and stuck to the resolutions passed at the Amritsar Session.

The story, however, did not end there. In June 1909, attempts were once again made to influence Muslim opinion in favour of the Morley Despatch. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Nawab of Dacca, Ali Imam, Abdul Aziz, Rafiuddin Ahmed, Abdul Majid Khwaja, Mian Mohammed Shafi and Ibrahim Rehmatullah were called to Simla for discussing the question afresh. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Nawab of Dacca and Rafiuddin Ahmed did not go. Others went. They were pressed to agree to the proposals outlined by Morley. After these discussions, Ali Imam and Abdul Aziz came straight to Aligarh and conveyed the views of the Government to Nawab Viqarul Mulk. Nawab Viqarul Mulk was not agreeable to reopening the issue. Still, he asked Haji Mohammad Moosa Khan, who was acting as Secretary of the League in the absence of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, to call an emergent meeting on July 10, 1909, at Lucknow. Members were telegraphically advised of the agenda.

At the meeting, Ali Imam explained the Government's attitude and urged the League to accord approval to the Morley Despatch. While discussions were on, a member pointed that the quorum was lacking. The meeting was, therefore, postponed for the next day. Telegrams were sent to some members residing in the suburbs to reach Lucknow and attend the meeting. The next day, some more members arrived; and in the presence of 25 members, just sufficient to complete the quorum, the meeting started to discuss the issue. Some members challenged the legality of the meeting as, in their view, when the quorum was not complete on the scheduled date, it should have been adjourned *sine die*. Nawab Viqarul Mulk, who presided over the meeting, was of the view that in addition to doubts about its being legal, the meeting did also not reflect opinion of a majority of members. He pointed out that the views of most of the League members, including those of the London Branch, were well known. He, therefore, thought it inadvisable to reopen the issue. When Ali Imam, supported by Mazharul Haq, insisted on continuing the discussions, some members walked out of the hall. Again there was no quorum,

and the meeting was postponed. This meeting is known as 'An Abortive Meeting' in the annals of the League.

The Quaid, though not yet a member of the League, was interested in what was happening. In a letter which appeared in THE TIMES OF INDIA (Weekly Mail Edition) of February 10, 1909, he expressed his views regarding Morley's Scheme and suggested certain modifications in it. As his letter is an historical document, its text is being reproduced as Appendix III. Later, in a meeting of Muslims held on August 2, 1909, the Quaid unambiguously supported the League's stand on separate electorates and moved a resolution calling upon the Government to concede the right of separate electorates to the Muslims. Extracts from the speech which he made when proposing the resolution appeared in THE TIMES OF INDIA (Weekly Mail Edition) of August 14, 1909.

In view of these facts, the claim that the Quaid continuously supported joint electorates is wrong. The fact is that at a time when the League itself was wavering in its resolve, he gave full support to the concept of separate electorates.

The next Annual Session of the League was held at Delhi from January 29 to 31, 1910, under the presidentship of Prince Ghulam Mohammad Ali Khan of Arcot. Here Maulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza succeeded Major Bilgrami as the Honorary Secretary; and Syed Wazir Hasan was elected as Joint Secretary in addition to Haji Mohammad Moosa Khan. It was also decided to shift the Central Office of the League from Aligarh to Lucknow. Accordingly, the League Office was shifted to Lucknow on March 1, 1910.

The shifting of the Central Office of the League from Aligarh to Lucknow was agreed to by the Aga Khan in deference to the wishes of Sir John Hewett, the then Lt.-Governor of U.P., who wanted to keep the students of Aligarh out of politics. But this was not the only factor. Other Muslims leaders, too, were not happy with the setting up of the League Office at Aligarh. One or two letters of Maulana Mohammad Ali, written to Nawab Viqarul Mulk even before the League meeting at Aligarh on March 18, 1908, and preserved in the League office, deal with the question.

Maulana Mohammad Ali urged that the League Office should be located at a place other than Aligarh. He considered it necessary for keeping the League free from official influence which, he apprehended, could be exerted through the British members of the Aligarh College staff.

During the Secretaryship of Maulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, the League became a well-established organization having its branches in all the provinces of India. He worked out and framed various schemes for reforms amongst Muslims in socio-economic and educational spheres. He set up a separate wing in the Muslim League Office to secure employment for educated Muslim youths in various Government departments. Due largely to his efforts, Muslims began filling jobs in East India Railways, Post and Telegraphs, Revenue and other Government departments in large numbers. But unfortunately for Muslims, Maulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza died an untimely death in February, 1912. After his death, Syed Wazir Hasan officiated as the Honorary Secretary, and was duly elected to office in the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League, held from March 22 to 23, 1913.

In the beginning of 1912, the Aga Khan expressed his inability to devote much time to the League, and suggested that it should have more than one President. While this proposal was still under consideration, differences of opinion cropped up between Syed Wazir Hasan and Sir Syed Amir Ali regarding the status of the London Branch of the Muslim League. Sir Syed Amir Ali wanted the London Branch to be independent, while Syed Wazir Hasan insisted that it should remain under the control of the Central League. In this controversy, the Aga Khan sided with Sir Syed Amir Ali; but the other members, including Nawab Viqarul Mulk, supported Syed Wazir Hasan; and the latter's views prevailed. The Aga Khan, in exasperation, resigned from presidentship.

The Aga Khan's resignation was placed before the Agra Session, held on December 30 and 31, 1913. The Session requested him to continue as President till the League's constitution was amended to provide for two or more presidents. The constitution, however, was not amended; and in February 1914, the League's

Council accepted his resignation and elected him as one of the Vice Presidents.[5]

The vacancy caused by the resignation of the Aga Khan could not be filled up for about two years. Maharaja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmoodabad, who was one of the Vice-Presidents, acted as the president for all practical purposes during this period, and he was elected to the presidentship in the Bombay Session held from December 30, 1915 to January 1, 1916.

When I joined the League Office, Syed Wazir Hasan was the moving spirit behind the League. He possessed great initiative, and made every endeavour to inject vigour and life into the League. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad supported him fully in all his actions.

To Syed Wazir Hasan goes the credit of not only getting the League's constitution amended to provide for the attainment of "self-government suitable for India" (adopted in the Annual Session held at Lucknow on March 22 and 23, 1913, presided over by Mian Mohammad Shafi), but also for bringing the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League closer to each other. He arranged to hold the League Sessions at the same time and at the same place where the Congress Sessions were held. The Bombay Session of the League, held from December 30, 1915, to January 1, 1916, was the first of the series of such Sessions.

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[5] The Aga Khan even in 1945 held the same views about the status of the London Branch of the League. In this regard, the text of a cable from Sardar Ikbal Ali Shah, President, London Islamic Society, received by the Quaid on November 17, 1945, and the Quaid's reply are of interest:

> LEADING MUSLIM RESIDENTS IN BRITAIN WISH TO RESTART IMMEDIATELY FORMER LONDON MUSLIM LEAGUE WHICH FIRST FUNCTIONED IN 1911 IN LONDON INDEPENDENTLY OF ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE AND NOT AS ITS LONDON BRANCH *STOP* OUR PURPOSE BEING TO MAKE KNOWN MUSLIM CASE BOTH HERE AND AMERICA DUE TO GROWING AND SUCCESSFUL CONGRESS PROPAGANDA AGAINST PAKISTAN AND FOR THIS AGA KHAN HAS ALSO TELEGRAPHED TO US FROM SWITZERLAND HIS PATRONAGE AND FULL APPROVAL *STOP* THOUGH OUR GENERAL POLICY IS SAME AS YOURS AND IN NO WAY RIVALING OR OPPOSING ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE WE SHALL NOT SPEAK AS REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE BECAUSE LONDON AND NEW YORK CONDITIONS MAY REQUIRE US TO HAVE FREE HAND IN ADAPTATION TO LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES *STOP* KINDLY CABLE YOUR BLESSING *STOP*.

The Quaid refused to allow the establishment of an independent London League as per his reply cabled from Bombay on November 24, 1945:

> REGRET CANNOT APPROVE YOUR MOVE ITS AGAINST POLICY PROGRAMME MUSLIM LEAGUE *STOP*.

It was Syed Wazir Hasan who persuaded the Quaid to participate in the deliberations of the League,[6] and later to become its formal member.[7] Again, it was Syed Wazir Hasan who persuaded the Quaid to preside over the Annual Session of the League in December 1916 at Lucknow, where the League-Congress Pact, commonly known as the Lucknow Pact, was adopted.

The Lucknow Pact was a landmark in the history of the Subcontinent; and Syed Wazir Hasan considered it as one of his personal triumphs. He had begun to work on it soon after the League's Annual Session of December 1915, held at Bombay. Here a 71-man Committee was appointed to prepare a scheme for Hindu-Muslim accord.

The Committee consisted of nearly all the eminent leaders such as the Quaid, the Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, the Aga Khan, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Omar Sobhani, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Mazharul Haq, Syed Ali Imam, Mian Fazle Hussain, Malik Barkat Ali, A.K. Fazlul Huq, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Akram Khan, Mian Mohamad Shafi, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Ghulam Mohiuddin Kasuri, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Ch. Shahabuddin. The Aga Khan could not attend any meeting as he was abroad. Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad were under detention and, therefore, could not participate in the deliberations. Others took keen interest and participated regularly in the discussions of the Committee.

The first meeting of this Committee was held at Lucknow on August 21, 1916. The Quaid, among others, attended it. It was here that I first saw him. Maulana Mohammad Ali used to describe him humorously as 'The Bombay Duck' in his column—'*The Gup*'—

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[6] The Quaid was invited, but refused to attend the Calcutta Session of the League held on March 3 & 4, 1912, under the presidentship of the Nawab of Dacca. He, however, attended an ordinary meeting of the League held at Lucknow on December 31, 1912, in which meeting the League's aims were redefined.

[7] Syed Wazir Hasan and Maulana Mohammad Ali had gone to London on September 6, 1913, to apprise the Government and people of Britain of the deep resentment prevailing among the Muslims of India on account of Cawnpur Mosque Tragedy and the Balkan Wars. The Quaid was also in London at the time; and they persuaded him to become a member of the League. The Quaid's Membership Form, bearing the date of October 10, 1913, and having besides his own signature, the signatures of Maulana Mohammad Ali as proposer, and of Syed Wazir Hasan as seconder, is still safe in the League records.

in the COMRADE. Tall, slim, dignified and stately, his was an entirely different personality.

From the very beginning, the Quaid played an important role in the deliberations of the Committee. He modified the draft which Syed Wazir Hasan had prepared as a basis for discussion. The meeting decided to circulate the amended draft among members of the All India Muslim League for eliciting their opinion and comments.

The Committee met again on November 16, 1916, at Calcutta and amended the draft in the light of the comments received. The draft was then discussed by a joint meeting of the representatives of the Muslim League and the Congress on November 17 and 18, 1916, at Calcutta under the presidentship of Surendranath Bannerji. After lengthy discussions, some further amendments were made in the draft Pact which was again circulated among the members for their opinion. On December 25, the terms of the Pact were finalized in a joint meeting of the Congress and the League representatives at Lucknow. The Congress adopted it on December 26; and the League approved it in the last sitting of its Session on December 31, 1916. The proposal for its approval was moved in the League Session by Syed Wazir Hasan himself, and was seconded by Raja Sahib of Jehangirabad.

The Lucknow Session of the League was a great success. The elite of Lucknow and its suburbs received the Quaid at Cawnpur railway station, from where he boarded a special train for Lucknow. In its over-enthusiasm to make the Session a success, the League Office had brought out posters in which the word *Maulana* was used as a prefix before the Quaid's name.

The Quaid, dressed in a fawn-coloured suit looked rather like a European than a *Maulana*. It was indeed embarrassing to associate the orthodox image of a 'Maulana' with his personality, and we were worried as to what we could do to maintain the image created by the posters. Various suggestions were made, one of them being that the Quaid should wear a *sherwani*! The Quaid did not have any. Syed Wazir Hasan wondered aloud whether a *sherwani* could be stitched in one day. The Quaid over-heard him;

and when the position was explained to him, he was amused. He, however, refused to wear any dress to which he was not accustomed. I ventured to suggest that he should at least put on a Turkish cap. He smilingly agreed. I rushed from the railway station to Machli Bazar and brought about a dozen Turkish caps. One of these fitted the Quaid. He wore it and continued to put it on throughout the Session.

The Lucknow Pact had created not only much political consciousness among the Muslims but also a sense of equality with the Congress. This awakening manifested immediately in accentuating their efforts for the release of political detenus. Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulana Shaukat Ali, to name a few, were under arrest and detained without trial for, what the Government alleged, their 'seditious activities'. When other steps failed to influence the Government, the League elected Maulana Mohammad Ali to preside over its Annual Session as a declaration of its confidence in his leadership.

This Session was held from December 30, 1917 to January 1, 1918, at Calcutta. The Presidential chair was kept vacant as a mark of protest. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad conducted the proceedings in an atmosphere charged with sorrow and gloom. The presence of *Bi Amman*—mother of Maulana Mohammad Ali —and her eloquent denunciation of the British Raj were the main features of the Session.

The League held another Session at Bombay on August 31 and September 1, 1918, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published, with the Maharaja of Mahmoodabad in the chair. The Congress also held a Special Session in Bombay on August 29 and 30. Both the League and the Congress disapproved of the proposed reforms, and made suggestions for improving them in the light of the Lucknow Pact.

Meanwhile, the defeat of Turkey and the policy of its dismemberment pursued by Britain and its Allies, following the signing of the Armistice in November 1918, intensified bitterness

and resentment among the Muslims against the British Government. The next Annual Session of the League, held at Delhi on December 30, 1918, with A.K. Fazlul Haq in the chair, was entirely devoted to deliberations on this burning issue.

Fazlul Haq was then young. He was more fiery than what he was in the later years of his life. Thrusting aside his printed presidential address, he spoke extempore most of the time and made an inflammatory speech, condemning the British Government for its attitude towards the Ottoman Empire. The newspapers, however, carried only the extracts from his printed address. Dr. M.A. Ansari, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address dealt with the issues of *Khilafat* in detail, and warned the British Government of the consequences of ignoring the Muslim sentiments. His address was immediately confiscated by the U.P. Government.

In this Session, representatives of every shade of Muslim opinion were present. Even the *Ulema* who, till then, had by and large not taken any active part in the political affairs of the Muslims, also attended the Session in large numbers. Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahali, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, Maulana Sanaullah, Mufti Kifayatullah, Maulana Ahmad Saeed and other *Ulema* participated prominently in the discussions.

League and the Khilafat Movement

While resentment was mounting over the unfair deal meted out to Turkey, the enactment of Rowlatt Bill in March 1919 created general bitterness. The Bill was fiercely opposed. The Quaid, as a mark of protest, resigned his seat in the Imperial Legislative Council. Meetings, processions and strikes took place all over the country. The Government resorted to repressive measures which resulted in the Jalianwala Bagh Tragedy on April 13, 1919, sparking off a general conflagration that enveloped the entire Subcontinent.

The Muslims had been participating in the agitation in a disorganized manner. Although they gave vent to their feelings against the Rowlatt Bill, their main concern was for the safety of the holy places, and the happenings in Turkey. But the manner in which they went about it lacked in planning and cohesiveness.

Therefore, with a view to giving an organized form to these activities, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari called a conference at Delhi on November 22 and 23, 1919, under the presidentship of A.K. Fazlul Haq. The Conference represented all shades of Muslim opinion in the country and unanimously decided to form the All India Khilafat Committee for dealing with the issue. Gandhiji was also invited to this Conference. He came and presented an outline of his programme of non-cooperation and passive resistance for compelling the British Government to change its policy *vis-a-vis* Turkey.

Immediately after this Conference, in the last week of December, the Congress and the League held their Annual Sessions at Amritsar. The League met on December 29 and 31, 1919, with Hakim Ajmal Khan in the chair. The Government had announced general amnesty and had agreed to release all political detenus, but the Muslim leaders had not till then been released. The atmosphere of the Session was tense. However, just when Maulana Sanaullah, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, was paying glowing tributes to Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan, Maulana Mohammad Ali and others for their sacrifices, a telegram was received by Hakim Ajmal Khan, conveying the news of the release of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and others. When he broke the news, the entire gathering rose to its feet, cheering lustily.

Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Hasrat Mohani came straight to Amritsar after their release. They entered the *pandal* when Fazlur Rehman, the editor of AKHWAT, was speaking in support of a resolution on the protection of the rights of Muslims in various Government departments. The place rang with cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*. Incessant applause disrupted the proceedings. The scene inspired Allama Iqbal so much that he spontaneously composed the following verses; and rising from his seat he recited:

ہے اسیری اعتبار افزا جو ہو فطرت بلند — قطرۂ نیساں ہے زندان صدف سے ارجمند

مشک اذفر چیز کیا ہے اک لہو کی بوند ہے — مشک بن جاتی ہے ہو کر نافۂ آہو میں بند

ہر کسی کی تربیت کرتی نہیں قدرت مگر — کم ہیں وہ طائر کہ ہیں بام قفس سے بہرہ مند

In this Session, the Quaid was elected to head the League.[8] Syed Zahoor Ahmed was elected Honorary Secretary with Choudhry Khaliquzzaman and Masoodul Hasan as Joint Secretaries.

The Amritsar Congress, presided over by Motilal Nehru, was devoted entirely to the question of the Reforms under the Government of India Act, 1919. C. R. Das proposed their outright rejection; but Gandhiji, by moving an amendment to the resolution proposed by C. R. Das, obtained a verdict for giving them a fair trial. The Quaid supported Gandhiji. He was of the view that while the Government should be pressed to modify the Reforms, they should allow the Government of India Act to function.

The Khilafat Committee, too, met at Amritsar under the presidentship of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Mohammad Ali dominated its deliberations. He was not interested in the issues relating to the Government of India Act. He considered the issues of Khilafat and protection of the holy places of Islam as a matter of life and death for Muslims. He vehemently condemned the British Government for its anti-Islam policies and urged for immediate resort to non-cooperation and boycott. His fervour and zeal electrified the whole gathering. However, after much heated discussions and behind-the-scene activities in which the Quaid also participated, the Khilafat Committee decided to send a deputation under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali to Europe for soliciting the support of European powers for a fair deal to Turkey. The Committee decided to resort to non-cooperation and other methods in case the deputation failed to achieve its objective.

The Khilafat deputation did not meet with success. Reports about the deputation's failure intensified bitterness in the country.

[8] The Quaid was re-elected as the president on May 25, 1924, in the Lahore Session, and again on December 31, 1927, in the Calcutta Session. He left for England sometime in October 1930. In his absence the League had the following as its presidents:

Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi:	March 15 to December 25, 1931
Sir Mohd. Zafarullah Khan:	December 26, 1931 to June 1932
Mian Abdul Aziz:	June 1932 to May 28, 1933
Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain	November 25, 1933 to March 4, 1934

In the Delhi Session held in December 1931, the League constitution was amended. The term of the president was reduced from three to one year, and the League Council was empowered to elect him. Accordingly, after his return from England, the Quaid was elected President on March 4, 1934, by the Council and thereafter he continued to be re-elected as president every year. The last meeting of the League, presided over by the Quaid was held on February 21, 1948, at Karachi in which Ch. Khaliquzzaman was elected Chief Organizer for organizing the Pakistan Muslim League.

Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and others toured the length and breadth of the Subcontinent, delivering fiery speeches and exhorting the Muslims to be ready to fight it out with the British.

Seeing this upsurge of Muslim zeal, Gandhiji who only a few months back had urged cooperation with the Government in working the Government of India Act, 1919, advocated general civil disobedience and non-cooperation to compel the British Government to grant freedom to India and to revise its policy *vis-a-vis* Turkey. This attitude of Gandhiji inspired so much confidence among the Khilafat leaders that they consulted him and acted under his guidance at every stage. Allahabad, where Gandhiji stayed during June 1920, became the centre of Khilafat activities. Here the Khilafat Committee met from 1 to 3 June 1920, and formed a small Committee for implementing its decision to resort to non-cooperation. The Committee, which had Gandhiji as its Chairman, completed the details of the programme in about a month's time, and served a notice upon the Government, stating that if within the next one month Muslim grievances were not duly redressed, the movement would be started. As the Government did not respond, the Committee decided to launch the movement from August 1.

The Quaid favoured the concept of non-cooperation in principle, but opposed the programme which the Khilafat Committee and Gandhiji had chalked out. He believed that resignations from services and boycott of Government institutions without making alternate arrangements would inevitably result in unendurable hardships for the Muslims. He felt that time was not ripe to subject the people to such a severe test. He urged that the Muslims should fight the British Government; but only according to their individual capability and capacity.

The programme for non-cooperation had not till then been approved by the Congress and the League. Both organizations held their Special Sessions at Calcutta in September 1920 to consider it. Motilal Nehru and other Hindu leaders were also opposed to it and worked for its disapproval by the Congress Session. Motilal Nehru and other Hindu leaders, however, a few hours before

the Session, went over to Gandhiji. It was the Quaid alone who vehemently opposed the programme of non-cooperation when it was moved by Gandhiji in the form of a resolution. The majority amongst the Congress delegates were not in its favour, but Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had made special arrangements to bring the supporters of non-cooperation as delegates. The result was that the resolution proposed by Gandhiji was carried by a majority.

The League Session at Calcutta commenced its proceedings on September 7, 1920. The Quaid presided over it. In his presidential speech, he reviewed the events which had led to the crisis and condemned the Government in scathing terms:

> I have been called upon to preside over the Special Session of the Muslim League by virtue of its constitution, which does not permit the election of a president except in the case of an Annual Session. The responsibility, therefore, of placing the grave aspects of the present situation before you has fallen to me as the president of the League. I am not going to tire you with weary details. We have met here principally to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since the signing of the Armistice. First came the Rowlatt Bill, accompanied by the Punjab atrocities; and then came the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our Faith. Now, every country has two principal and vital functions to perform: one to assert its voice in international policy, and the other to maintain internally the highest ideals of justice and humanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands to carry it on to one's own satisfaction. As we stand in matters international, India's voice is represented through His Majesty the King of England's Government; although nominally we happened to have two Indians who were supposed to represent us, they were neither the chosen nor the accredited representatives of India. The result was that notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the Musalmans, and in breach of the Prime Minister's solemn pledges, unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey; and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and been broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.
>
> The Indian press is flooded by accounts of occurrences in the

Colonies which show but too well how India is sacrificed to the individual interests of these Englishmen who have settled in these Colonies which India's manpower and India's workpower have built.

And now let us turn to the Punjab. That Star Chamber Legislation named after the notorious Chairman of Rowlatt Committee was launched by the Government of Lord Chelmsford, and it resulted in those 'celebrated crimes' which neither the words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. "An error of judgment", they call it. If that is the last word, I agree with them—an error of judgment it is; and they shall have to pay for it, if not today then tomorrow. One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to a completely responsible Government. Meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. And we shall surely find a way, even as France and Italy did, and the new-born Egypt has. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own country. Mr. Gandhi has placed his programme of non-cooperation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference, before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle; and approving of its principle, whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and, therefore, it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances.

Meanwhile, there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Musalmans and regrets Mahatma Gandhi's "foolish of all foolish schemes", being fortified with a 'Charter' from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent Despatch from 'Home'—the word Home is in inverted commas. This is the 'changed angle of vision' on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood and India's gold was sought and unfortunately given—given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt Legislation.

One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom. The unsatisfactory character of the 'Reforms' evolved by the timidity of Mr. Montagu and the prejudice of Lord Chelmsford, marred by its own rules and regula-

tions, and worked under the influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government, offers us, if I may quote the words of a well known author, "licence for liberty, and licence does not compensate for liberty". We may have Indians as Lieutenant-Governors and Governors and, for the matter of that, Viceroys. That is licence, but that is not liberty. What we want is true political freedom of the people, not posts and positions in Government. Secondly, the unusual haste displayed in the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the new Council, and contrary to universal opinion, only goes to illustrate the policy of the Government. And manifested itself through constitutional methods, it fell to the lot of the Lieutenant-Governor to dishonestly characterize it as "open rebellion". Only his administrative genius could have conjured up a vision of "open rebellion" in a country whose people have been brutally unarmed; and only his cowardly spirit could have requisitioned the application of Martial Law, secure in his knowledge that, weaponless, there could be no retaliation. Martial Law was introduced; the manner and circumstances of its proclamation and its administration were calculated to destroy political freedom, political life, not only in the Punjab but throughout India, by striking terror into the hearts of its people. The majority report of the Hunter Committee is one more flagrant and disgraceful instance that there can be no justice when there is a conflict between an Englishman and an Indian. The Government of India, with its keen sense of humour and characteristic modesty, proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its conduct, blind to the fact that they were in the position of an accused passing judgement.

Now, let us turn to the great "error of judgement", the judicious finding of the Cabinet, which itself is no less an error of judgement and that was duly wired to us by Reuter. To follow up events in sequence, I must mention the Parliamentary debate which forgot the Punjab and discussed General Dyer. Of course, Mr. Montagu hadn't the time to put India's case before the House, being far too busy offering personal explanations. And then the blue and brainless blood of England, to their crowning glory, carried the infamous resolution of Lord Finlay.

And what of the sacred land of the Crescent and Star and the blue and golden Bosphorus—its capital seized and the Khalifa virtually a prisoner; its territories overrun by Allied troops, groaning under an imposition of impossible terms. It is a death warrant, not a Treaty.

These are the enormities crying aloud, and we have met today face to face with a dangerous and most unprecedented situation.

> The solution is not easy and the difficulties are great. But I cannot ask the people to submit to wrong after wrong. Yet I would still ask the Government not to drive the people of India to desperation, or else there is no other course left open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of non-cooperation, though not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gandhi.
>
> I do not wish to detain you any more; but before I sit down I will say this: remember that united we stand, divided we fall; and throughout your discussion I beg of you not to lose sight of that. I am certain that every member of the Muslim League will rise to that high sense of duty which he owes to his community and his country; and in the course of our deliberations and discussion—whatever the differences of opinion may be—we must give credit to each other that each in his own way is doing his best for his motherland and for his home and for his country. In that spirit, I would urge upon you to proceed with your deliberations, and I have no doubt that the collective wisdom, the united wisdom, of the best intellect of the Musalmans will not fail to find a solution of the question which we consider, from a purely Musalman point of view, a matter of life and death, namely, the Khilafat question. I have no doubt that with over 70 millions of Musalmans, led by the best intellect and brains of the community, success is assured.

When the resolution was moved by Maulana Shaukat Ali, the Quaid again warned the Muslims that only by remaining united could they achieve their objective. The resolution was ultimately passed unanimously.

In accordance with the decision of the Khilafat Committee, Muslims started the movement from August 1. Not only did they boycott the educational institutions, courts and British manufactured goods, resign from the services and legislative bodies, renounce titles and honours, but also migrated from India to Afghanistan in large numbers. They underwent severe hardships and set unique examples of sacrifice. Other sections of the Indian population did not participate in the movement with as much zeal as was expected of them. The result was that its entire brunt was borne by the Muslims alone.

The Quaid again made an attempt in December 1920, when the Congress and League met at Nagpur to get their earlier decisions rescinded; but he failed.

The League's Nagpur Session was held on December 30 and 31, under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari. The Quaid opposed the resolution which sought confirmation of the decision taken at Calcutta. When he rose to oppose it, he faced a hostile audience, with a section hooting and booing him wildly. But he stood firm, calm and resolute. In a few terse sentences, he warned that the course which they had adopted could neither lead them to freedom from foreign yoke nor help the Turkish cause. But reason did not prevail over the emotionally charged audience; and the resolution passed by the League's Special Session at Calcutta was affirmed by an overwhelming majority.

In this Session, the League's aims and objects as laid down in its constitution were also radically changed. The clauses containing declaration of loyalty to the British Crown were deleted, and "attainment of Swaraj" was incorporated as the main objective.

After the Nagpur Session, it was the Khilafat Committee and the movement launched by it which dominated the political activities of the Muslims. While other members of the League actively participated in the movement, the Quaid remained aloof. The Muslim League, in the circumstances, was relegated to background.

The Nagpur Session of the Congress, held in December 1920, was its last gathering in which the Quaid participated. Thereafter, he completely disassociated himself from the Congress. Earlier in October 1920, he had resigned from the Home Rule League, too.

Because of his opposition to the programme of non-cooperation, the Khilafat leaders and some League members became hostile to the Quaid. Often they bitterly criticised and abused him. The Quaid, however, did not sever his association from the Muslim League, despite their hostility. He remained its president and saved it from being completely disintegrated. He held its Council meetings whenever necessary. Though attendance in such meetings was usually small, and often they took decisions which conflicted with the Quaid's views, yet they saved the League from extinction.

In those days, only one Annual Session of the League

could be held on December 30, 1921, at Ahmedabad. The League Council in a meeting held on October 27, 1921, had approved the name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for presiding over the Session; but he declined. The Council meeting was held again on November 30, 1921. It requested Maulana Hasrat Mohani to accept the presidentship. Accordingly he presided over the Session.

Turkey, meanwhile, overcame the crisis; and rallying under the leadership of the Ataturk, emerged stronger. She thwarted the designs of Britain and its Allies and forced them to think about putting an end to the war waged against her. The League, in the Session, pledged all-out support of the Muslims of the Subcontinent to the Ataturk and to the Angora Government. It further decided that even if the hostilities against Turkey were ended, Muslims should continue with the movement in cooperation with the Congress, till Swaraj was achieved.

Constitutional Reforms

The League's decision could not influence the coming events. On February 6, 1922, Gandhiji announced suspension of the non-cooperation movement. He viewed the incident at Chauri Choura two days earlier, in which a Police Station had been set on fire and 22 policemen burnt alive—a gross violation of his creed of non-violence. Before announcing the decision, Gandhiji did not consult the Khilafat leaders. They were, therefore, taken aback. They pressed Gandhiji to go on with the movement till the British Government was compelled to grant independence to India; but Gandhiji did not yield to their pressure. Later, in December, when a strong group in the Congress decided to contest elections to the Central and Provincial Councils, Gandhiji gave them his blessings. They fought these elections under the garb of the Swaraj Party.

Gandhiji's decision to suspend the movement disillusioned the Muslim masses. They realized that all sacrifices rendered by them had been in vain. They bitterly criticised their leaders for their failure to give them a correct lead. There was complete chaos; and the leaders of the movement failed to check indiscipline among the rank and file. They became involved in personal bickerings, accusing each other of all sorts of faults and shortcomings.

The Quaid made efforts to rehabilitate the League and retrieve the Muslims from despondency. The Congress leaders having already decided to contest elections to the Central and Provincial Councils, the Quaid was of the view that the Muslims should unite and, from the platform of the League, contest the elections and fight in the Councils to secure their rights. He tried to convert other Muslim leaders also to his views. His attempts were not appreciated. The Muslim leaders, divided into two distinct groups—pro-Congress and pro-Government—fully knew that the Quaid would not tow the policy-line adopted under any external influence. They did not, therefore, support him in his efforts to unite the Muslims. The Quaid, however, convened the League's supreme authority[9]—its Annual Session—on March 23, 1923, at Lucknow under the presidentship of Rais Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgari. The Quaid placed before the Session his programme for participation in the elections to legislative bodies. Dr. Ansari, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and others opposed him. They insisted on continuing with the policy of non-cooperation. The Quaid would have succeeded in securing the mandate from the Session in favour of his programme, but some delegates were ushered out of the meeting hall. As a result, quorum fell short; and the Session had to be adjourned *sine die*.

The adjourned Session of the League was held on May 24 and 25, 1924, at Lahore under the presidentship of the Quaid. The Quaid again made attempts to re-organize the League, and impressed upon the members the need for unity which alone could secure the rights of Muslims. He attempted to define the goal for which the Muslims should struggle. Accordingly, the following principles were enunciated for incorporation in the scheme of constitutional reforms which the British Government had promised to introduce:

(a) Full and complete provincial autonomy for every province. The functions of the Central Government to be confined to matters of general and common concern.

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[9] A Session, whether Special or Annual, consisted of delegates elected by the Provincial Leagues especially for the purpose, and of the Council members and office bearers of the All India Muslim League. A Session was the supreme authority of the League.

(b) Guarantee for the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P. in case of any territorial redistribution.

(c) Population to form the basis of representation in the legislature and in all other elected bodies with provision for very small minorities to get representation in excess of their numerical proportion in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented, subject, however, to the safeguard that no majority be reduced to a minority or even to equality.

(d) Guarantee for full religious liberty, *i.e.*, liberty of religious belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education for all communities.

(e) Separate electorates for Muslims with option to abandon it in favour of joint electorates, if necessary.

(f) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, to be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body opposed such Bill or resolution or part thereof.

The resolution embodying these principles was drafted by Malik Barkat Ali in consultation with the Quaid, and was moved by Sir Abdul Qadir in the open Session. The preamble and the clauses (a), (d) and (f) were adopted by the Session without discussion; but clauses (b), (c) and (e) were discussed in detail.

Maulana Mohammad Ali was the president of the Indian National Congress at this time. He proposed deletion of clause (b), as he thought that any scheme of redistribution of provinces could be settled through negotiations. But as the Hindu press was carrying on an extensive propaganda for refixing the boundaries of the Punjab, the Session strongly felt that the League must declare its policy in this respect in unequivocal terms. Accordingly, the original clause was adopted by a majority. After the adoption of clause (b), discussion on clause (c) started. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed moved the following amendment in lieu of the original clause:

"The mode of representation in the legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to equality."

Sir Shah Nawaz seconded the amendment and Ch. Shahabuddin, Sir Fazle Hussain and Sir Mohammad Yakub supported it. They were of the view that while the stipulation "that no majority shall be reduced to minority or even to equality" was necessary for safeguarding the interests of Muslims in the majority provinces, the principle for safeguarding Muslim interests in the minority provinces, too, was of equal importance. This, they stressed, should also be enunciated in clear words. They, therefore, felt that as the amendment fulfilled the requirement, it should be accepted. Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Maulana Mohammad Ali opposed the amendment. They strongly advocated that the original clause should be retained, as in their view, an insignificant minority of whatever community, was not entitled for more representation than permitted by their number. But the amendment was adopted by a majority of votes.

Two other amendments were also moved to clause (e), one by Asaf Ali, seconded by Mushir Hussain Qidwai; and the other by Syed Habib, editor of SIYASAT, seconded by Maulana Mohammad Ali. Asaf Ali proposed acceptance of joint electorates instead of separate electorates, while the amendment proposed by Syed Habib provided for acceptance of joint electorates with reservation of seats for the Muslims in all elected bodies. Both the amendments fell through; and the resolution with the amendment moved by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed was adopted by the Session.

In this Session, the Quaid was again elected president of the League for another three years, with Syed Zahoor Ahmed as its Honorary Secretary.

In the same year, the Annual Session of the League was held at Bombay on December 30 and 31, with Sir Syed Raza Ali in the chair. At the time, the entire Subcontinent was being swept

by communal riots. This Session, therefore, dealt mainly with the issues relating to them.

The next Session was held on December 30 and 31, 1925, at Aligarh with Sir Abdur Rahim as the president, where once again the issue of constitutional reforms dominated the deliberations. Sir Ali Imam moved a resolution which reiterated the basic principles enunciated by the League in its 1924 Lahore Session, and called upon the Government to:

> " . . . . appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian constitution on a sound and permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible government in India and thereby secure stability in the government, and the willing cooperation of the people".

Maulana Mohammad Ali proposed the following amendment to the resolution:

> "Whereas Swaraj is our birth-right and the existing Government of India provides a constitution for India which falls far short of Swaraj and is extremely unsatisfactory, the All India Muslim League calls upon the Government to invite a Round Table Conference of the representatives of all communities and political parties in India in terms of the demand made in February 1924 by the Legislative Assembly, for the purpose of framing the constitution of a Swaraj Government to be brought into force in the manner provided by the resolution of the Legislative Assembly passed in this behalf on that occasion. The League trusts that the constitution enacted in this manner would be based on the following principles for the protection of the minorities:
>
> (1) that all communities shall have representation in all elected bodies as far as possible in proportion to their numbers;

(2) that minority communities shall have their representation secured to them in every elected body by means of separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to a minority in any elected body at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorate;

(3) that no territorial redistribution shall affect the existing majority of any community in any province without its own consent;

(4) that religious liberty, *i.e.*, liberty of religious belief, worship, observance, association, propaganda, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities; and

(5) that no Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof, on the ground that it would injuriously affect their community."

But the president, Sir Abdul Rahim, ruled Maulana Mohammad Ali's amendment to the resolution out of order. He considered the amendment to be a complete resolution in itself, requiring prior notice for discussion in the Subjects Committee. The original resolution moved by Sir Ali Imam was supported by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan and Malik Barkat Ali, while Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali opposed it.

The Quaid, supporting the resolution moved by Sir Ali Imam, expressed his appreciation of Maulana Mohammad Ali's views and declared that a Round Table Conference would go a long way towards solving the constitutional problems. But in view of the fact that the February 1924 resolution of the Central Assembly had failed to have any impact and that the British Government had adopted a rigid posture, he argued, the line suggested by Maulana Mohammad Ali could not yield fruitful results. As against this, the proposal of Sir Ali Imam, he felt, was likely to achieve

some results. He, therefore, recommended its approval by the League. The resolution was consequently carried by a majority.

In 1926, the Annual Session of the League was held at Delhi on December 29 and 31 with Sir Abdul Qadir in the chair. In this Session, the Muslim League again reiterated its position *vis-a-vis* constitutional reforms; readopted the resolutions passed in previous Sessions; and constituted a Committee for framing a scheme of constitutional reforms.

The Committee consisted of the following members:

1. Mr. M.A. Jinnah
2. Sir Abdur Rahim (Bengal)
3. Mr. Abdul Aziz (N.W.F.P.)
4. Sir Mohammad Shafi (Punjab)
5. Shaikh Abdul Qadir (Punjab)
6. Maulvi Mohammad Yakub (U.P.)
7. Sir Ali Imam (Bihar)
8. Pirzada Mohammad Hussain (Delhi)
9. Mr. M. Anisuddin Ahmad (C.P.)
10. Maulvi Saadullah (Assam)
11. Syed Abdul Jabbar (Ajmer)
12. Mr. Mohammad Mohsin Ali (Burma)
13. Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayum (N.W.F.P.)
14. Honorary Secretary of the League

This Session also decided to shift the Central Office of the All India Muslim League from Lucknow to Delhi. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu was elected Honorary Secretary, and Syed Aijaz Hussain and S.M. Abdullah, both from Delhi, as Joint Secretaries.

Consequently, the League Office was shifted to Delhi in February 1927. I acquired on rent a hall in Abid Building on Ballimaran Street where the Central Office was housed till the beginning of 1939. In 1939, the Office was again shifted; this time from Ballimaran Street to a more spacious building situated in Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj.

In the beginning of February 1927, the Committee appointed by the League in the Delhi Session to frame the scheme for constitu-

tional reforms met at the Quaid's Delhi residence in Western Courts. Hindu leaders were reluctant to accept the demands and safeguards enumerated in the League's resolutions of 1924, 1925 and 1926. They continued to insist on joint electorates. The Committee, therefore, made efforts to evolve a formula acceptable to them. The meetings of the Committee, as they proceeded, assumed great importance; and the Quaid invited other leaders as well to participate in the deliberations. The last such meeting was held on March 20, 1927, under the presidentship of the Quaid, attended by;

The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad
Sir Mohammad Shafi
Maulana Mohammad Ali
Dr. M.A. Ansari
Sir Mohammad Yakub
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
Syed Aale Nabi
Lt. Sardar Mohammad Nawaz Khan
Abdulla Suhrawardy
Sir Shah Nawaz
Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
Ghazi Abdur Rehman
Sahibzada Abdul Qayum
Shah Mohammad Zubair
Syed Ahmed
Syed Murtaza Bahadar
Abdul Aziz
Abdul Matin Choudhry
Maulvi Shafi Daudi
Syed Abdul Jabbar
Mirza Abdul Qadir
Sir Syed Abdul Rahim
Anwarul Azim
Dr. Haider
Arif Hasvi
Aijaz Hussain and
Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan

At the conclusion of the meeting, a statement was issued setting out the minimum conditions acceptable to Muslims for safeguarding their interests. The statement declared that if these conditions were incorporated in the future Indian constitution, Muslims would forego the right of separate electorate. These proposals later came to be known as the DELHI PROPOSALS. Their text is given in Appendix IV.

These proposals, however, were rejected by the Hindu Mahasabha. Some Muslim leaders viewed this rejection by the Hindu Mahasabha with bitterness. The League Office, in a circular letter sent on May 4, 1927, requested the League members to give their reaction and asked for their suggestions for further action. I have with me the replies received from Sir Mohammad Shafi and Sir Mohammad Yakub.

Sir Mohammad Shafi wrote from Lahore:

> "I am in receipt of your No. 705, dated the 4th instant. As you are aware, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League at its meeting held on Sunday last has expressed its views on the Hindu Sabha attitude and the policy which the Muslim community should now adopt regarding the question of reforms. I have also sent you a copy of the speech delivered by me on that occasion which embodies my personal views. I have nothing to add to the Punjab Muslim League resolutions and to the views expressed by me in my speech."

The resolution and the speech referred to in the letter are not available. However, as far as I can recall, they condemned the Mahasabha's attitude, and advocated scrapping of the Delhi Proposals.

Sir Mohammad Yakub on the other hand advised a dispassionate appraisal of the situation. Writing from Moradabad on May 7, 1927, he stated:

> "I am in receipt of your No. 708, dated the 4th inst. I have also received the resolutions passed

by the Hindu Mahasabha and the presidential address of Dr. Moonje. I think a very difficult position has been created by these unwholesome pronouncements. But the opinions hurriedly expressed by certain Musalmans are also to a certain extent responsible for creating this confusion. It is very difficult to express my opinion at this juncture. The only suggestion that I can make is to bring the leading Musalmans of all shades of opinion and representing all the important Muslim organizations, on a common platform as soon as possible. Unity amongst the Musalmans themselves is the most crying need of the time."

The Congress, when it met later in May 1927, welcomed the Delhi Proposals. Thus, the bitterness among the Muslims subsided to some extent.

Simon Commission and Nehru Report

However, before the League and the Congress could take any steps for implementing the Delhi Proposals, the British Government announced in November 1927 the appointment of a Commission headed by Sir John Simon. The Commission did not have any Indian member. Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, adding insult to injury, declared that the people of India were not capable of producing an agreed constitutional formula. The Quaid's reaction was very sharp and quick. He condemned the declaration made by Birkenhead, and called for the boycott of the Commission. He appealed to the Indian leaders to prepare an agreed constitution to meet the challenge.

For giving a practical shape to his suggestion, the Quaid decided to hold the League's Annual Session, and called a meeting of the League Council in Delhi on November 20, 1927, to fix the date and venue of the Session and to elect its president.

An influential group among the Muslim leadership opposed the Quaid's suggestion to boycott the Commission. Sir Mohammad Shafi, Sir Fazle Hussain, Sir Firoz Khan Noon and some other leaders strongly advocated that the League should not follow the Quaid's advice. Allama Iqbal, too, supported them.

In the meeting of the League Council held on November 20, 1927, these Muslim leaders created a situation in which the League would have followed a course different from that laid down by the Quaid. The Quaid could not attend this meeting. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, who was one of the Vice-Presidents, presided. The members were sure that the venue of the Session and the personality of its president would play an important role in determining the outcome of the issue. The group which did not want to boycott the Commission, proposed to hold the Session at Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Mohammad Shafi. The other group under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu strongly pressed for holding the session at Calcutta under the presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan. While the matter was still under discussion, a message was received from Hakim Ajmal Khan that as he was very seriously ill, his name should not be proposed for presidentship. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan did not allow Maulana Mohammad Ali to propose any other name, and announced that in view of the withdrawal of Hakim Ajmal Khan's name, the resolution moved by Sir Firoz Khan Noon, proposing the name of Sir Mohammad Shafi as president and suggesting Lahore as venue for the Session, being the only resolution before the house, was carried through. The ruling resulted in uproarious protests; and the president immediately adjourned the meeting.

Subsequently, Sir Mohammad Shafi issued a statement, showing his reluctance to preside over the Session in view of the controversy created by his election. He suggested that the League should invite the Aga Khan to preside. This statement was taken by the League Secretary, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu, as a refusal by Sir Mohammad Shafi to accept the invitation. He, therefore, called another meeting of the League Council on December 11, 1927, at Delhi, with the Quaid's approval. A few days before the meeting, the Aga Khan, through a statement in the press, expressed his inability to accept the invitation and appealed to Sir Mohammad Shafi to preside over the League Session. Sir Mohammad Shafi, immediately thereafter, issued another statement agreeing to preside over the Session. The statements issued by the Aga Khan and Sir Mohammad Shafi did not, however, end the matter. The

members met at the League Office on Ballimaran Street, Delhi, on the scheduled date, *i.e.*, December 11, 1927.

Just before the commencement of the meeting, a letter was received from Hakim Ajmal Khan. His illness had taken a serious turn. He did not expect to recover from it.[10] He was very unhappy that he could not attend the meeting and meet the members. He requested them to allow him the privilege to act as their host, perhaps for the last time, and to hold the meeting at his residence. The members warmly responded and went to his residence. Here they gathered around his bed.

Hakim Ajmal Khan was the senior-most Vice President. The members requested him to preside over the meeting. He was reluctant; but as the members insisted, he acceded to their request. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Allama Iqbal, Sir Shah Nawaz, Nawab Sir Ahmed Saeed of Chhatari, and Sir Syed Raza Ali did not allow the proceedings to go on smoothly. They raised a number of points of order. They were of the view that once the venue had been selected and election of the president taken place, the League Council could not revise its decision. The voting majority, which consisted of proxies as well as the members present, however, upheld Dr. Kitchlu's stand. Their decision was that since Sir Mohammad Shafi had not accepted the League's invitation to preside over the Session, the question should be considered afresh. This decision was not accepted by Sir Firoz Khan Noon and others who walked out of the meeting. The meeting continued and decided to hold the Session at Calcutta. However, the issue relating to the election of the president for this Session was left undecided, for there was no consensus of opinion on it.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon and other members of his group, defying the Council's decision, went ahead with preparations to hold the Session at Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Mohammad Shafi. Thus, on the question of the boycott of the Simon Commission, Sir Mohammad Shafi and his colleagues created dissension in the League and set up a rival organization.

The Calcutta Session of the League was held on December 30

[10] He breathed his last on December 29, 1927.

and 31, 1927. The Quaid in his opening address narrated the events which had resulted in the split, and regretted the action of Sir Mohammad Shafi and his colleagues. On his request, Sir Ali Imam proposed the name of Sir Mohammad Yakub to preside over the Session. He was voted to the chair.

The Session adopted a resolution, proposed by Sir Ali Imam, seconded by Seth Yakoob Hasan, and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Malik Barkat Ali, M.C. Chagla, Shamsuddin Ahmed and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, affirming the decision to boycott the Commission. By another resolution, proposed by Malik Barkat Ali and approved unanimously, the League reiterated the Delhi Proposals of March 20, 1927, and authorized its Council to appoint a Sub-Committee to confer with the Indian National Congress and other organizations for drafting a constitution.

The League members, who were in favour of cooperating with the Simon Commission, held a meeting of their own at Lahore on December 31, 1927 and January 1, 1928, under the presidentship of Sir Mohammad Shafi. In the meeting, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Chaudhry Fazle Haq, Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar and others protested against the action of Sir Mohammad Shafi in holding the gathering. They challenged his right to call this 'meeting' a Session of the League. Inspite of their opposition and amidst much heckling, the gathering was told that it had been decided to co-operate with the Commission and to withdraw support from the Delhi Proposals. Sir Mohammad Shafi also announced his election as president and of Allama Iabal as Honorary Secretary of the party, calling it the "All India Muslim League", though it came to be known generally as the 'Shafi League'.

Allama Iqbal, however, resigned from the Honorary Secretaryship of the Shafi League after a few months on June 24, 1928, as he did not agree with the views expressed by it in its memorandum submitted to the Commission. He rejoined the All India Muslim League.

The Congress had met earlier in December at Madras and accepted the Delhi Proposals. It had also decided to boycott the Simon Commission, and had resolved to hold an All Parties Conference for preparing an agreed scheme of constitutional reforms.

The mandate of the Congress and the League for boycotting the Simon Commission was carried out successfully. When the Commission arrived in India in the beginning of 1928, it was greeted with hostile demonstrations wherever it went.

While the boycott of the Commission was on, the All Parties Conference, sponsored by the Congress, met at Delhi from February 11, 1928. It continued its deliberations till March 11, 1928; but the participants failed to reach an agreement. The Hindu Mahasabha on its part did not agree to the safeguards embodied in the Delhi Proposals. Under the pressure of the Mahasabha, the Congress, which earlier in its Madras Session had approved the Delhi Proposals, too, backed out. Its leaders began to interpret the Madras resolution differently. The All India Muslim League in a meeting of its Council held in March 1928, reviewed the situation and decided not to participate in the Conference. And when the Conference again met in Bombay on May 19, 1928, the All India Muslim League stayed out. But the Conference decided to carry on with the task and formed a Committee of 10 members with Motilal Nehru as the Chairman and Shuaib Qureshi and Sir Ali Imam as the representatives of the Muslims to prepare a constitution.

The Committee prepared its report which was published in August 1928. The report, generally known as the NEHRU REPORT, ignored the demands and safeguards listed by the League in the resolution passed in its Calcutta Session.

The publication of the Report caused difference of opinion among the League members. One group consisting of Dr. Ansari, Maharaja of Mahmoodabad, Tassaduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Seth Yakub Hassan, Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Sh. Hisamuddin and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad advocated its acceptance, while the other group led by Sir Mohammad Yakub, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Malik Barkat Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Abdul Matin Choudhry took the stand that the Report should not be accepted unless it incorporated the Muslim demands as enumerated in the Delhi Proposals.

Before the League could arrive at a decision, a meeting of the All Parties Conference was held at Lucknow on August 28,

1928, under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari to consider the Report. The League boycotted it, sticking to its earlier decision taken in March 1928, though much pressure was exerted to send a delegation to the Conference. The Conference, however, could not arrive at any decision, and was adjourned to meet again at Calcutta on December 28, 1928.

Certain other Muslim leaders, specially Sir Fazle Hussain and his followers, favoured outright rejection of the Report. Accordingly in September 1928, at the behest of Sir Fazle Hussain an announcement was made by some Muslim members of the Central Assembly and the Council of State of their intention of holding an All Parties Muslim Conference under the presidentship of the Aga Khan to consider the situation. Initially, the Conference was scheduled to meet on November 11, but later, at the desire of the Aga Khan, the date was changed to December 30, 1928 and January 1, 1929.

The Quaid who had gone to England on May 5, returned to India on October 26, 1928. He condemned the move to hold the All Parties Muslim Conference. He considered it another attempt to create further dissensions among the Muslims, and pleaded that the Muslims should rally round the League and take a united stand to achieve their aims; but his appeal did not make much headway. The League Council, mean while, decided to hold a Session of the League at Calcutta under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Mahmoodabad from December 26 to 30, 1928, to consider the Report.

I arrived in Calcutta a few days ahead of the Session and stayed at the residence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Dr. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and others had also arrived; the residence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had become a centre of hectic activities of the supporters of the Report. Under the convention followed at that time, any person was entitled to be a delegate to the Session, provided that his name was proposed and seconded by two members of the League Council and he paid Rs. 6 as annual membership fee and Rs. 5 as admission fee. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad enrolled a large number of delegates in order to have a majority of the supporters of the Report in the Session.

It was generally felt that the Session would adopt the Report by an overwhelming majority.

But when the Subjects Committee met, prior to the open Session, it arrived at a different conclusion. The Quaid initiated the discussion and analysed the provisions of the Report one by one, showing that they did not concede any of the demands of the Muslims. He was so logical in his approach that the mood of the delegates underwent a complete change. They now voiced their disapproval of the Report. The Quaid did not, however, agree to its outright rejection. He supported a proposal of M.C. Chagla to nominate 23 delegates for participating in the Convention and getting the Report amended in accordance with the resolution of the Muslim League passed in the Annual Session of 1927. Chagla's proposal was approved by the Subjects Committee and was later adopted by the Session without any opposition.

The following delegates were nominated for presenting the League's case in the Convention:

1. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad (U.P.)
2. Mr. M.A. Jinnah (Bombay)
3. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu (Punjab)
4. Mr. M.C. Chagla (Bombay)
5. Malik Barkat Ali (Punjab)
6. Maulvi Abdul Hamid (Assam)
7. Maulvi Mujeebur Rahman (Bengal)
8. Dr. Mahmood (Bihar)
9. Sh. Hisamuddin (Punjab)
10. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (Punjab)
11. Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan (Bengal)
12. Seth Yakub Hasan (Madras)
13. Ghazi Abdul Rehman (Punjab)
14. Abdullah Brailvi (Bombay)
15. Tassaduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani (U.P.)
16. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman (U.P.)
17. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (U.P.)
18. Maulvi Mazhar Ali (Punjab)
19. Shah Mohammad Zubair (Bihar)
20. Maulvi Abdul Karim (Bengal)

21. Maulvi Mohammad Aslam (U.P.)
22. Maulvi Azizul Haq (Bengal)
23. Maulvi Faiznoor Ali (Bengal)

The Session also discussed the invitation received from the All Parties Muslim Conference, and condemned the venture by adopting the following resolution:

> "That the League regrets that it cannot accept the invitation of the General Secretary of the All Parties Muslim Conference to send representatives to it, as the League is strongly of the opinion that it would be disastrous to Muslim interests if rival and *ad hoc* organizations of the nature of the Conference were set up at every crisis in the history of the community. The League feels that it was the duty of the patriotic Muslims to rally round League at this important juncture to decide what attitude the Musalmans should take about the impending constitutional reforms. The League is further of the opinion that the constitution and procedure of the Conference, as outlined in the letter of the Secretary of the Conference, is not likely to enable the Conference to serve any useful purpose or to assist the Muslim community in coming to any definite conclusion."

The delegation nominated by the League attended the Calcutta Convention on December 28, 1928, where the Quaid pleaded for acceptance of the amendments prepared on the basis of the League resolution of 1927. The main amendments proposed 1/3rd representation to the Muslims in the Central legislature; separation of Sind from Bombay unconditionally; introduction of reforms in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan without any delay; representation of Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal on population basis; and vesting of residuary powers in the Provincial legislatures and not in the Centre.

Proposing the amendments, the Quaid made a brilliant speech which is worth reproduction:

The report of the Committee which you appointed has already

been read out and placed before you. I am exceedingly sorry that the report of the Committee is neither helpful nor fruitful in any way whatsoever. I am sure, gentlemen, that you all realize that the present moment is very critical and vital to the interest not only of the Musalmans, but to the whole of India. I think it will be recognized that it is absolutely essential to our progress that Hindu-Muslim settlement should be reached, and that all communities should live in a friendly and harmonious spirit in this vast country of ours. No country has succeeded in either wresting a democratic constitution from the domination of another nation or establishing representative institutions from within without giving guarantees for the security of the minorities, wherever such a problem has arisen. Majorities are apt to be oppressive and tyrannical; and minorities always dread and fear that their interests and rights, unless clearly and definitely safeguarded by statutory provisions, would suffer and be prejudiced; but this apprehension is enhanced all the more when we have to deal with communal majority. I am sure, you will, therefore, consider the present situation in which we are working and struggling for freedom and record your vote in favour of modifications proposed, which as I have said before, are fair and reasonable and thus enable us to triumph in our cause.

The first point that I want to place before you is a point with regard to our proposal that there should be no less than 1/3rd Muslim representation in the Central legislature. We propose that 1/3rd of the elected members of the Central legislature should be the Musalmans, and that the seats should be reserved for them to that extent in the electorates of the country. Now the Nehru Report has stated that according to the scheme which they have formulated, the Musalmans are likely to get 1/3rd in the Central legislature and more. It is argued there that the Punjab and Bengal will get many more seats over and above their population and the other minority-provinces in India will get the representation of the Musalmans according to their population under the scheme propounded by the Nehru Report. What we feel is this. If it is conceded that Musalmans should be enabled to secure 1/3rd of the representation in the Central legislature, the method which is adopted is neither quite fair to the provinces where the Musalmans are in a minrority, nor does it guarantee that we shall obtain 1/3rd representation in the Central legislature. Therefore, the two Musalman majority provinces—Punjab and Bengal—get more than their population, which means you are giving more to the rich who will, under normal conditions, get the largest number of Muslim representatives, and you are depriving the Muslim minority provinces of great importance, and restricting them to get no more than their population, whereas we wish to restrict the Punjab and Bengal according to their popula-

tion, and desire that the excess should be distributed amongst the minority Muslim provinces. In other words, we propose that let us carve out of this 1/3rd as the Musalmans wish. Take the case of Madras and Bombay—it is not always the only criterion, *viz.*, counting of heads, but the importance of those two provinces. Take the case of the United Provinces, again it is the centre of Musalmans' culture and heart; and it will be unfair that they should be restricted according to the number of their population in their representation in the Central legislature.

These three provinces, Sind being separated, will then, so far as the population goes, be in this position: the United Provinces with 14 per cent; Madras with 7 per cent; and Bombay with 9 per cent, The method that we want to be adopted is that the excess between 1/3rd and 1/4th should be distributed amongst the other provinces according to the relative position of their importance to the Musalmans and not according to population. I am sure indeed that besides counting of heads, there are other weighty and important considerations which must not be lost sight of. It is not only a question of getting votes in the Legislature, but it is also essential that various parts of the provinces which are themselves vast should be represented, so that, questions affecting the people of their grievances may be ventilated properly and thoroughly on the floor of the Legislature. Very often when proper facts and arguments are placed by one single representative which, when they are convincing, sway the entire Legislature. It really comes to this: that the Nehru Report makes a gift of the extra seats over and above the population basis to the Punjab and Bengal, whereas, we propose that this extra 7 or 8 per cent seats should be distributed amongst the minority Muslim provinces.

Our next proposal is that in the event of the adult suffrage not being established, Punjab and Bengal also should have seats reserved on population basis for the Musalmans. But they should not have the right to contest for more, of course, subject to re-examination of the question at the end of ten years. I am not sure that establishment of adult suffrage is within the range of practical politics in the near future. You remember, originally the proposal emanated from certain Muslim leaders in March 1927, known as the Delhi Muslim Proposals. That was dealt with by the All India Congress Committee in Bombay and in the open Session of the Madras Congress and endorsed by them. The Muslim League at its Calcutta Session in December 1927 also confirmed the proposals. I am not going to enter into the pros and cons here, but it is an admitted fact that although the Musalmans in the Punjab and Bengal are numerically in the majority, their voting strength is far below in proportion to their population, and they,

therefore, would not secure sufficient representation; and it is feared that under these circumstances, their representation will be far below their population. It is now devised to meet this undoubted fact by the Nehru Proposals, and the Report proposes the substitute of adult franchise; and from those premises, it is argued that there is no need for reservation in Punjab and Bengal; but we wish to provide for the contingency which is most patent and probable that in the event of the adult suffrage not being established, there should be reservation for Musalmans in Punjab and Bengal according to their population, but they should not be entitled to additional seats. And we, therefore, attach very great importance to this modification.

Our next proposal is that the form of the constitution should be federal with residuary powers vesting in the provinces; and Clause 13A in the Supplementary Nehru Report is most pernicious, and should be deleted; and the whole constitution should be revised on the basis of Provincial Governments having the residuary powers vested in them; and subject to that, there should be revision of the schedules laying down Central and Provincial subjects as embodied in the Nehru Report. This question is by far the most important from the constitutional point of view and the future development of India, and has very little to do with the communal aspect. If this question is examined carefully, it has much less of communal bearing and far graver of general interest of India and the future constitutional progress of the people of India.

This is hardly a place or an occasion when you would expect me to enter into a debate which might be held between two jurists. We have carefully considered the matter and we have come to the conclusion that a system which will give residuary powers to the provinces, is the most suited for the Federation of India.

With regard to the question of separation of Sind and introduction of reforms in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, we cannot agree that they should wait until the Nehru Constitution is established with adult suffrage. Do you expect the Musalmans to oppose the reform being introduced in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan until the Nehru Constitution is established? I am somewhat amazed that the Committee appointed by the Convention has rejected these proposals on the ground that a resolution was passed at Lucknow which recorded an agreement arrived at by certain individuals, who were parties to that agreement and signed it and, therefore, they cannot reopen the question. The All India Muslim League was not a party to any such resolution and was not represented at that meeting. I say with the utmost deference to the members of the Committee that this is not a valid ground or answer. There are many organizations

> present here in the Convention today, none of them is bound by any such agreements arrived at between individuals or groups. I venture to say that this Convention is not bound and it is wholly untenable to advance any such reason before this Convention. This Convention is entitled to make any change, or alteration or modification in the proposals now before it, and I ask the Convention whether the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan are only to be accepted when the Nehru Constitution with adult suffrage is brought into full effect and operation in this country. The Musalmans feel that it is shelving the issue and postponing their insistent demand till doomsday and cannot agree to it. I, therefore, appeal to the Convention to take all these matters into their careful consideration and meet our demands.

The Quaid was ably supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali, who headed the delegation sent by the All India Khilafat Committee. However, the Hindu leadership rejected the amendments. Delegates representing the Hindu Mahasabha threatened that if any change was made in the communcal settlement proposed in the Nehru Report, they would withdraw their support. The main speaker on their behalf was Jayakar. He was the Deputy Leader of the Nationalist Party in the Central Legislative Assembly. The party was composed of Hindu Members, and its leader was Madan Mohan Malaviya. Jayakar made a very impassioned speech, opposing the Quaid's amendments, accusing the League of resorting to dilatory tactics and putting hurdles in the way of progress. He stated that the Hindus could agree only to the introduction of reforms in the N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan, after a constitution for India was adopted on the lines proposed in the Report, and also to the separation of Sind from Bombay, and that, too, subject to a favourable report on its financial viability. He was not prepared to concede to any other demand. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru intervened and appealed to the Hindu Mahasabha leaders to accept the amendments. In his speech, he refered to the Quaid as "a spoilt child" and asked the delegates to do away with the communal issue by accepting the demands of the League. His appeal was not given any heed. The Quaid replied in a well-argued and balanced speech to the accusation levelled by Jayakar:

> The reason why no other delegate from the Muslim League was going to take part in the debate is that we have come to the Convention— which is composed of something like 1,200 delegates—not with a

purpose of raising controversies which would lead to bad feelings. We have already placed our proposals before the Convention and our grounds for supporting them on the hypothesis which must be admitted on all hands that communalism exists in this country. We have not come here to apportion blame for it. The offensive remarks or insinuations serve no good purpose; and I will not follow the style or the manner of the speech delivered by my friend, Mr. Jayakar. Nor will I on this occasion permit myself to deal with specious arguments and pleadings which he has advanced. In short, his position is an ultimatum; and with that ultimatum we were made aware from the very start on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha. If a single word with regard to the communal settlement is changed in the Report, they will withdraw their support to it.

With regard to the remarks of my friend, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, I am afraid some of the speakers have misunderstood them. He called me a 'spoilt child'. I know the spirit in which he meant it, and others have put a childish interpretation upon it. But I think, it cannot be denied and I hope that Mr. Jayakar and others will agree with me that every country struggling for freedom and desirous of establishing a democratic system of government has had to face the problem of minorities wherever they existed; and no constitution, however idealistic it may be, and, however perfect from theoretical point of view it may seem, will ever receive the support of the minorities, unless they can feel that they, as an entity, are secured under the proposed constitution and government, and whether a constitution will succeed or not must necessarily depend as a matter of acid test whether the minorities are in fact secure. Otherwise no proper constitution will last, but result in a revolution and civil war. I must here point out that it is not correct to say that the Muslim League did not take part at all in the All Parties Conference. The Council of the League had appointed a Committee in February 1928 and it attended the All Parties Conference till the 11th of March, and the Committee had express instructions not to proceed with the forming of any constitution until the Hindu-Muslim differences were adjusted and agreed upon. It is true that no settlement was reached; and as the Committee felt that it was not possible to arrive at any agreement, they ceased to take further part in the All Parties Conference which is responsible for producing the Nehru Report. I am not here today to express my opinion as to whether a constitution ought to be framed or not, but I would ask Mr. Jayakar to consider whether he wants what he calls the greatest common measure of agreement to be still greater or not. We are engaged today in a very serious and solemn transaction. It is not merely for the various organizations to come here and say, "we agree to it", and retire. We are here, as I understand, for the purpose of entering into solemn contract; and all parties who enter into it will have to work for it and fight for

it together. What we want is that the Hindus and Musalmans should march together until our object is obtained. Therefore, it is essential that you must get not only the Muslim League but the Musalmans of India; and here I am not speaking as a Musalman but as an Indian. And it is my desire to see that we get 7 crores of Musalmans to march along with us in the struggle for freedom. Would you be content with a few? Would you be content if I were to say, "I am with you"? Do you want or do you not want Muslim India to go along with you? You must remember two major communities in India—I say this without the slightest disrespect to other communities like Sikhs, Christians and Parsis—are the Hindus and Musalmans, and naturally, therefore, these two communities have got to be reconciled and united and made to feel that their interests are common and they are marching together for a common goal. I want you, therefore, to rise to that statesmanship which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru describes. Minorities cannot give anything to the majority. It is, therefore, no use asking me not to press for what you call these 'small points'. I am not asking for these modifications because I am a 'naughty child'. If they are small points, why not concede? It is up to the majority, and the majority alone can give. I am asking you for this adjustment, because I think it is the best and fair to the Musalmans. Look at the constitutional history of Canada and Egypt. The minorities are always afraid of majorities. The majorities are apt to be tyrannical and oppressive; and particularly religious majorities and the minorities, therefore, have a right to be absolutely secured. Was the adjustment between French Canadians and British arrived at on population basis or on the ground of pure equity? Was the adjustment between the Copts, Christians and Musalmans in Egypt regulated by such considerations? We are dealing with politics. We are not in a court of law and, therefore, it is no use resorting to hair-splitting and petty squabbles. These are big questions and they can be settled only by the exercise of the highest order of statesmanship and political wisdom. I, therefore, ask you once more to consider this question most carefully before you decide. Please don't think that in anything that I have said I am threatening any party, and I hope that I shall not be misunderstood. If you do not settlle this question today, we shall have to settle it tomorrow; but in the meantime, our national interests are bound to suffer. We are all sons of this land. We have to live together. We have to work together and whatever our differences may be, let us at any rate not create more bad blood. If we cannot agree, let us at any rate agree to differ; but let us part as friends. I once more repeat: Believe me, there is no progress for India until the Musalmans and Hindus are united; and let no logic, philosophy or squabble stand in the way of our coming to a compromise, and nothing will make me more happy than to see the Hindu-Muslim union.

The League Session, which was to continue its sitting on December 29 for further deliberations, decided to meet at some other time before May 1929 and was adjourned.

The proceedings of the Calcutta Convention greatly dismayed and angered the Muslims. A large contingent of members of the Khilafat Committee, under the leadership of Maulana Mohammad Ali, immediately left for Delhi to attend the All Parties Muslim Conference. A few League members, including Sir Mohammad Yakub, also attended the Conference in their individual capacity.

The All Parties Muslim Conference was a well-organized affair. Its open Session was held under a big *Pandal* erected on the Parade Ground opposite Jamia Masjid. Attended by Sir Mohammad Shafi, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Nawab of Chhatari, Raja of Saleempur, Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Irfan, Sir Mohammad Yakub and others, it was presided over by the Aga Khan. The Conference revoked the Delhi Proposals, and emphatically declared that Muslims would not accept any reforms which were not based on separate electorates and which did not provide for other safeguards.

As an off-shoot of the All Parties Muslim Conference, an organization, called the All India Muslim Conference, came into existence. It was financially supported by the Aga Khan and acted as a rival to the League. Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, and later Nawab Sir Ahmad Saeed Khan of Chhatari, became its president. It remained in existence till 1935 with Maulana Shafi Daudi, an M.L.A. from Bihar, as its Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points

The adjourned Session of the Muslim League was held at Delhi on March 30 1929, in Rowshan Theatre, near Ajmeri Gate, under the presidentship of the Quaid. Dr. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and others who supported the Nehru Report made every effort that this Session should approve it. A large number of delegates from all over India came to Delhi to attend it. Arrangements for their stay were made

at the residence of Dr. Ansari. The Session was scheduled to start its deliberations at 10.30 A.M. The Quaid who had to preside over it did not reach the Hall in time, whereupon Dr. Alam forcibly occupied the presidential chair. He presented a resolution approving the Nehru Report, and called upon Tassaduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani to second it. The gathering, however, did not allow Dr. Alam to conduct the proceedings. Maulana Mohammad Ali demanded that he should vacate the chair. As Dr. Alam refused, the audience rushed towards the platform and a general *melee* followed. Meanwile, the Quaid arrived, and seeing the situation, adjourned the Session.

What happened in the Session was unexpected. The night before, an informal meeting was held at the residence of the late Hakim Ajmal Khan which continued to be a centre of political activities even after his death. After lengthy discussion which went on till the early hours of the morning, the Quaid drafted a formula accommodating the viewpoints of different factions. I remember that Dr. Ansari, Dr. Alam, Tassaduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani and Dr. Syed Mahmud had, till the last moment, advocated the acceptance of Nehru Report. Except for these few gentlemen, nearly all other delegates accepted the formula, some like Maulana Mohammad Ali wholeheartedly; while others like Asaf Ali and Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu did so, believing it to be the best solution under the circumstances. I remember Maulana Mohammad Ali paying glowing tributes to the Quaid for accomplishing a unique feat of statesmanship and, in a lighter vein, calling him the 'arch compromiser'. The meeting further decided that the Quaid should present the formula in the form of a resolution in the open Session. But during the few hours between this decision and the commencement of the open Session, Dr. Alam, Tassaduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani and others sharing their views decided to make an attempt for getting the Nehru Report accepted in the open Session. Their attempt, however, failed.

The formula evolved by the Quaid, which later became known as the FOURTEEN POINTS OF MR. JINNAH, was acclaimed by all; but his efforts for uniting the Muslims on one platform were not supported by the Muslim leaders. Except for a few personal friends, such as Malik Barkat Ali, Abdul Matin Choudhry and

Sir Mohammad Yakub, others were reluctant to work with the Quaid. His strict attachment to principles and independent approach to problems were the main reasons which kept the others away from him.

More Discord

While a large group had broken away from the League when the Shafi League was formed, other leaders like the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Fazle Hussain worked under the leadership of the Aga Khan for strengthening the Muslim Conference. After the fiasco in the Delhi Session, Dr. Ansari, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, Asaf Ali and their associates formed a party of their own—the Nationalist Muslim Party—under the presidentship of Dr. Ansari with Choudhry Khaliquzzaman as its Secretary. Others like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad completely went over to the Indian National Congress. The Nationalist Muslim Party, like the Muslim Conference, existed on paper alone, and did not have any influence among the Muslim masses. Many other organizations also came into existence, but their activities were confined only to the provinces of their origin. Most of them consisted of leaders only, and had no followers.

While the in-fights and conflicts among the Muslims were on increase, elections took place in the United Kingdom in May 1929; and the Labour Party came into power. The Quaid now considered the time suitable for pressing the British Government to hold a Round Table Conference. On June 19, 1929, he wrote a letter to Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of the new Labour Government, in which he dealt in detail with the situation as it prevailed in India. He suggested that the British Government should hold a Round Table Conference for discussing the constitutional problems and find a way to resolve them. The Labour Government responded favourably to this suggestion; and in October 1929 announced its decision to hold the Conference. The Indian National Congress, however, adopted a different attitude. As a price for its participation, it asked for a prior declaration of Dominion Status for India. The Quaid considered the pre-condition put forth by the Congress as unrealistic. Alongwith Vithalbhai Patel, he met Gandhiji on November 30, 1929, at Sewagram, and tried to persuade him to change

his views; but was not successful. Gandhiji, on the other hand, decided to start a civil disobedience movement. Barring the nationalist Muslims such as Maulana Azad, Dr. Ansari, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Asaf Ali, Ch. Khaliquzzaman and others, the Muslims generally remained aloof from the movement.

In the Punjab during the period, Sir Fazle Hussain had established his complete hegemony and formed a strong group consisting of Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Zafarullah Khan, and Ch. Shahabuddin among others. Sir Mohammed Shafi felt isolated and, therefore, decided to come over to the Muslim League. He met the Quaid in February 1930 at Delhi, and requested him to allow him and whatever was left of his faction to re-join the League. Accordingly, the Quaid called a meeting of the Council on February 23, 1930, at the Office of the All India Muslim League at Ballimaran Street, which the followers of Sir Mohammad Shafi were allowed to attend. The meeting, however, due to an urgent professional engagement of Sir Mohammad Shafi, had to be postponed, and was held on February 28, 1930. The Quaid presided and moved a resolution for the merger of the Shafi League. Sir Mohammad Shafi seconded the resolution, and it was adopted unanimously.

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu left the League at this stage.[11] He did not like Sir Mohammad Shafi, and was not prepared to welcome him back in the League's fold. In his place, Sir Mohammad Yakub was elected as the Honorary Secretary.

Allama Iqbal and the Allahabad Session

Meanwhile, arrangements for holding the Round Table Conference were being finalized. The Quaid thought that the League should define its policy *vis-a-vis* the Conference and give a mandate to the participants for presenting the Muslim case in a united manner. With this purpose in view, he called a meeting of the League Council on July 13, 1930. The meeting decided to discuss the matter in a Session to be held at Lucknow on August 17, 1930. For presiding over the Session, the Quaid proposed the

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[11] Doctor Sahib did not participate in any of its activities after resigning from the League, and went over completely to the Congress. He died on October 9, 1963, in Delhi.

name of Allama Iqbal. The Council approved the proposal but decided that if Allama Iqbal did not agree, Sir Sultan Ahmed or A.K. Fazlul Haque or Sahibzada Abdul Qayum should be requested to preside over the Session. The Quaid conveyed the decision of the Council the same day to Allama Iqbal who gave his consent. Arrangements for holding the Session were completed in due course. Some Punjab leaders, particularly Sir Fazle Hussain thought otherwise and planned to have a free hand in picking and choosing representatives for the Round Table Conference and also to lay down a policy of his own for their guidance. His followers, therefore, did not want the League to hold any Session. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, a member of the group, sent a number of telegrams to the Reception Committee to postpone it. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad,[12] Syed Azhar Ali and other leaders opposed his attempts. They knew that the game of Sir Firoz Khan Noon and other Punjab leaders was to prevent the League from holding the Session and from formulating any policy for the guidance of its members *vis-a-vis* the Conference. They charged Sir Fazle Hussain of not wanting Allama Iqbal to participate in the Round Table Conference to which he would have been invited by virtue of his being president of the League Session. Therefore, he opposed the holding of the Session. Sir Fazle Hussain's designs would have been defeated, but Sir Firoz Khan Noon somehow or the other, was able to persuade Allama Iqbal to agree with him. The latter, too, requested a postponement. The matter was then referred to the Quaid, who, in view of the request made by Allama Iqbal, agreed and postponed the Session.

The postponement of the Session created another problem. In the meeting of the League Council held on the day of Session, the Lucknow members pressed for a vote of no-confidence against Sir Mohammad Yakub. They alleged that he had conspired with Sir Firoz Khan Noon in getting the Session postponed. Sir Mohammad Yakub, as a result, tendered his resignation from secretaryship. The Quaid, however, did not accept it.

Attempts to hold the postponed Session in October 1930,

[12] The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad was very keen to have Session of the League under the presidentship of Allama Iqbal. The Maharaja of Mahmoodabad was unable to attend the postponed Session when it was held at Allahabad, as he had a heart attack in December 1930, and later died on May 23, 1931.

a few weeks ahead of the Round Table Conference, failed. The Lucknow leaders refused to make arrangements for holding it. Selection of another venue became difficult. First, Benaras was selected. Later on, efforts were made to hold it at Ajmer. Ultimately, it was agreed to hold the Session in Allahabad on December 29 and 30, 1930.

The Session was accordingly held at Dawazdah Manzil, opposite Colvin Hospital—the residence of a tobacconist. Only a few delegates attended. it. The required quorum was formed with difficulty. The Quaid and other leaders were in London at this time, participating in the Round Table Conference. They could not, therefore, attend it.

On arrival at Allahabad, Allama Iqbal was given a rousing reception and was taken out in a procession. But this welcome was accorded to him chiefly because of his individual personality, and had little to do with the League's Session. The political discussions contained in his address did not arouse much interest. I recall that the portion of his address wherein he visualized the setting up of a separate Muslim State in north-western India was not published by many newspapers, though they published other extracts from his address. Among those who attended this Session were Syed Hussain Imam, Maulvi Abdul Qadir Qasuri, Sir Mohammad Yakub, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, Syed Habib and Syed Zakir Ali.

The Quaid's self-imposed exile

The Quaid was disgusted with the intrigues, confiicts and rifts among the Muslims. After postponement of the Round Table Conference in January 1931, he settled down in London, devoting himself entirely to his legal practice and did not desire to return to India. In his absence, the mantle of the League leadership fell upon Sir Mohammad Shafi. He tried to infuse some life in the League. On return from London immediately after the postponement of the Round Table Conference, he called a meeting of the Council of the Muslim League to discuss what had happened there. In this meeting, held under his presidentship in the Ballimaran Street Office of the League on February 23, 1931, Sir Mohammad Shafi invited Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and

Dr. M.A. Ansari, too, to acquaint the League members with their views. They attended the meeting. Gandhiji and Nehru both addressed the members on the question of Muslim representation and the future constitutional set-up.

Another meeting of the Council was held at Delhi on March 15, 1931. In this meeting, Sir Mohammad Shafi was formally elected the president of the All India Muslim League. Syed Hossain Imam and Maulana Hasrat Mohani were of the view that since the constitution provided that only the Annual Session could elect the president, the election should not take place. But the Council did not agree with their views.

Sir Mohammad Shafi worked hard for strengthening the League and making it a broad-based organization. He would have succeeded in his efforts but, unfortunately, after some time, he was offered membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which he accepted. Thereafter, he was unable to devote his attention to the League affairs. Later on, he fell ill and died on January 6, 1932.

The pre-occupation of Sir Mohammad Shafi with the Viceroy's Executive Council, and later, his illness and untimely death brought the League to the brink of extinction. Sir Fazle Hussain and his colleagues decided to wind it up and leave the field open for the Muslim Conference. On the occasion of the League's Annual Session held on December 26 and 27, 1931, at Delhi, they struck. Sir Fazle Hussain arranged for the election of Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan to preside over the Session and, ultimately, for his election as the president of the League.[13]

In this Session in which only a few members participated, a Committee was appointed to explore the possibilities of amalgamation of the League with the All India Muslim Conference, and to form a new organization after the proposed merger. The Committee consisted of Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan who had been elected the League president for one year by the Council a few hours earlier, Sir Mohammad Yakub and two other office-

[13] The Muslims of Delhi strongly protested and demonstrated against his election to the League's presidentship, as they considered him outside the fold of Islam. In view of the demonstrations, the Session was held at the residence of a contractor, Khan Sahib Syed Nawab Ali, instead of its scheduled venue—the Fatehpuri School Hall.

bearers, Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmed, its Vice-President and Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdullah, its Joint Secretary. Except Sir Mohammad Yakub, others were strong advocates of forming a new organization.

I wrote to the Quaid informing him about the situation. His instructions were to save the League at all costs. As no assistance from any quarter was forthcoming, I sought the help of Dr. Ansari. He agreed with the views of the Quaid. He kept himself aloof, but desired Asaf Ali and Arif Hasvi to work against the proposed move. These gentlemen and other colleagues created such hindrances that the decision for the formation of a new organization could not materialize. Circumstances also helped. In June 1932, Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan joined the Viceroy's Executive Council and resigned from the presidentship. In his place Mian Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, one of the founder-members of the League, was elected as acting president. He opposed the faction which was working for the formation of a new organization. He did not let them sound the last post on the life, limb and organization of the Muslim League.

Meanwhile, developments on the constitutional front were taking place rapidly. Ramsay MacDonald had announced his award, better known as the COMMUNAL AWARD, on the question of representation; and the British Government had issued a White Paper regarding the constitutional set-up.

In this situation, a feeling of despondency and helplessness pervaded the ranks of Muslims. They had no leader of calibre to guide them. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maharaja of Mahmoodabad and Sir Mohammad Shafi had gone the the way of all mortals. In spite of their limitations, they could have given some lead. The only leader in whom the Muslims reposed trust and who could guide them fearlessly was in self-imposed exile in London. They desperately wished that he could put an end to his exile and return to his homeland in the hour of crisis. The League Council, when it met at Delhi on March 12, 1933, devoted most of its time in discussing as to what steps it should take to persuade the Quaid to return home. It toyed with the idea of sending a deputation to England to meet him and press him to come back.

But the idea was dropped because of lack of funds. The Council ultimately passed a resolution moved by Abdul Matin Choudhry, urging the Quaid to return to India and to lead the Muslims again. The Council meeting also decided to hold the Annual Session of the League at Delhi on April 29 and 30, 1933.

The text of the Council's resolution of March 12, 1933 was cabled to the Quaid. In his reply, he expressed his gratefulness to the League for remembering him and promised to visit India by the end of the year. A large number of Muslim leaders endorsed the resolution of the Muslim League Council and requested the Quaid to come back to lead the nation again.

Before the Quaid could return, the League again splitted into two factions. Mian Abdul Aziz wanted to continue as the president and attempted to transform the League into a party of his own. He arbitrarily removed Sir Mohammad Yakub from the Secretaryship. Later on, he also suspended the Acting Secretary, Prof. Mirza Mohammad Saeed, and myself from our duties. However, the League Council on May 28, 1933, removed him from presidentship. Despite his removal, he somehow continued to claim himself to be the president of the League. His 'League' had a 'Session' of its own at Howrah on October 21, 1933.

The League Session, as had been decided on March 12, 1933, by the Council, could not be held in April. It was held subsequently on November 25, 1933, at the Anglo-Arabic College Hall, Delhi, under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain. The members of the League were bitterly critical of the dissensions in the ranks of the League. They ventilated their feelings with intensity. Much unpleasantness occurred. Usman Azad of the DAILY ANJAM, who led the criticism, lost a few of his teeth in a general *melee*. The League, apart from passing some routine resolutions, decided to have Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain as its president till the return of the Quaid.

The Quaid to the rescue

The Quaid ultimately returned to India. He arrived in Bombay in the last week of December 1933. I wrote to him on January 5, 1934, about the situation. He replied on January 21, 1934:

My dear Mr. Shamsul Hasan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th January. Do send me some information connected with the All India Moslem League. Is there no way to put an end to the split that has taken place recently?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Efforts were intensified for repairing the split and promoting the cause of one united Muslim League. Abdul Aziz readily agreed to dissolve his group and return to the fold of a united League; but Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain adopted a difficult attitude. He refused to resign from the presidentship. He, however, after much pressure agreed; but insisted on having the Secretaryship. Subsequently, when a meeting of both the factions was held at Delhi on March 4, 1934, the Quaid was unanimously elected as the president of the League and Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain its Honorary Secretary.

I immediately sent the text of the resolutions passed by the meeting to the Quaid. He instructed me to send other literature as per his letter dated March 11, 1934:

Dear Mr. Shamsul Hassan,

I received your letter along with the resolutions passed by the Council of the United All India Muslim League. I shall feel obliged if you will let me have the recent literature with regard to the various bodies and the resolutions passed by them, particularly I want the following:

(1) The resolutions passed by the last Session of the Delhi All India Muslim League.

(2) The resolutions of the Howrah meeting, and

(3) The resolutions passed by the All Parties Muslim Conference a few months ago.

> I am giving my consideration to the question of holding the Sessions of the All India Muslim League and will communicate with you. I am glad that the League stands united and has emerged stronger than it ever was before.
>
> Yours truly,

Revival of the League

The Quaid later on decided to call a meeting of the League Council on March 31, 1934, to consider the situation and to chalk out a programme for the revival of the League. Invitations for this meeting were issued to everyone who was a member of the League before its split into various factions. The Quaid, however, reached Delhi a day late; and, therefore, the meeting had to be postponed to April 1.

This meeting held in the League Office on the Ballimaran Street on April 1 and 2, was a representative gathering of Muslims of all shades of opinion. Begum Sir Shah Nawaz, Sir Syed Raza Ali, Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan and Nawab Ahmed Saeed Khan of Chhatari, who at the time was the president of the All India Muslim Conference, represented the views of the conservative elements; while Asaf Ali, Arif Hasvi and Syed Zakir Ali represented the nationalists. In this meeting, the Quaid was given unflinching support by Abdul Matin Coudhry, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Obaidur Rehman Khan Sherwani, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sir Mohammad Yakub in his efforts to reconcile the different elements and to create unity among the Muslims of various shades of opinion *vis-a-vis* the Communal Award and the proposals contained in the White Paper, which later on were incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935.

The proceedings of this meeting give a bird's eye-view of the political situation prevailing then, and make interesting reading:

> Mr. Jinnah, at the outset, thanked the Council for the honour conferred upon him in electing him president of the united League. He particularly wished to stress the word "united". Mr. Jinnah said he had, after his experience of the first Round Table Conference, come to the conclusion that nobody could help India; and this was

why he had stayed away so long. He had, however, received the call of his community and had responded.

Mr. Jinnah reviewed the White Paper very critically. Nearly everybody, he said, seemed to have agreed that the scheme of the political reforms as fore-shadowed was detrimental to the interest of India. The main question was how to prevent it.

Begum Sir Shah Nawaz, at this stage, enquired what Mr. Jinnah meant by prevention. The President replied that he meant how the White Paper could be rejected.

Sir Syed Raza Ali said that in his opinion the Moslems had secured substantially all the demands put forward by Mr. Jinnah in his 14 points. He held that the Moslems could not do much at the present stage and thought it advisable to wait until the report of the Joint Select Committee was published.

Syed Murtaza Bahadur (an old Khilafatist and a member from Madras of the Central Assembly) did not agree that Mr. Jinnah's 14 points secured practically all the Moslem demands and suggested that the Moslems should make an effort to come to terms with the Hindus. Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdullah (Joint Secretary of the League) said that the real difficulty was that there were two different schools of thought among the Moslems, one holding by joint electorates and the other by separate electorates. The only way to compose this difference, in his opinion, was that after the matter had been fully discussed it should be decided by vote of the majority and then every member of the League should adhere to the decision, whatever it was.

Maulana Shaukat Ali rose amid cheers and said it was futile at this stage to think of creating a supreme organization of the Moslems because the existing organizations were probably not prepared to merge their identity in the League or, for that matter, in any other political organization. The different organizations, he maintained, could meet and frame a common policy, keeping in view the vital interests of the Moslem community and ignoring minor political differences.

Sir Yamin Khan (Member, Central Assembly) took a different view. He held that what the Moslems of India needed today was a dictator. Mr. Jinnah, interrupting, remarked that there could not be a dictator unless he had the power to punish and reward. Yamin Khan said that the White Paper consisted of two parts, one dealing with Provincial Autonomy and the other with the Federal or Central Government. He strongly advised the Moslems to accept the scheme of

provincial autonomy and thought that the most unsatisfactory feature of the proposed Central Government was the federation of the States. He advocated a Federation confined to the provinces of British India.

Begum Sir Shah Nawaz made an eloquent appeal for unity and agreed with Yamin Khan's view on the White Paper, but held that it was not practical politics to insist on the exclusion of the Indian States, as the British Parliament was not likely to concede responsibility at the Centre unless the States joined the Federation. She advised the Moslems to consider very seriously whether it would be in their interest to reject the White Paper, as it seemed to her that the White Paper and the Communal Award were connected.

Next day, on April 2, the deliberations of the Council continued. After Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Obaidur Rehman Khan Sherwani had spoken on the need of unity, Mr. Jinnah asked Mr. Asaf Ali to express his views on the present political situation and the Moslem attitude. Mr. Asaf Ali explained at the outset that he was not attending the meeting as a representative of the Nationalist Moslem Party. He referred to the manifesto which was issued in 1933 with signatures of about 50 prominent Moslems. It was suggested in the manifesto that the constitution of the League should be revised in such a way as to give the League Council a truly representative character by electing its members from the various provincial branches. While he agreed that the majority of Moslems in the country were not prepared to accept any thing less than the Communal Award and that the Hindus were not ready to give anything more to the Moslems, there was no finality in politics and, therefore, the policy of the League should be to keep open the door of negotiations with the Hindus and other communities.

Khan Sahib Haji Rashid Ahmed said that the Moslems should have no objection in joining hands with the Hindus on the revision of the constitutional proposals outlined in the White Paper, provided the Hindus agreed to accept the Communal Award.

Mr. Jinnah, in summing up the debate, said that while on more than one public occasion he expressed his dissatisfaction with the White Paper, he did not see how it could be rejected unless the Hindus and the Moslems came to an agreement and evolved a better scheme. Mr. Jinnah reviewed the efforts which had been made from time to time to bring about communal unity and maintained that it would be unfair to hold Moslems responsible for the failure of those efforts. He, however, believed that there was still time to achieve this, and he perceived signs of a more favourable disposition on the part of Hindu leaders and, therefore, strongly urged the Council to

pass the following resolution as an encouragement to like-minded Hindu leaders and in order to strengthen his hands:

> 'Resolved that the Council accepts the Communal Award so far as it goes until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities, and on that basis expresses its readiness to co-operate with other communities and parties to secure such a future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country.'

Sir Syed Raza Ali wished to propose that instead of making a direct offer to the Hindus, the Council should authorise its president to negotiate with them on the basis of the terms stated in the resolution. His amendment was not, however, supported; and Mr. Jinnah himself declined to undertake such responsibility. The resolution was put to vote and was carried by a majority, about half a dozen members of the Council voting against, including Sir Syed Raza Ali, Begum Sir Shah Nawaz and Nawab Abdul Hafeez.

The Council appointed two Committees, one for proposing amendments in the constitution of the League and the other for reorganizing the provincial leagues.

However, the Quaid could not do much to implement these decisions, as he had to go back to England for a few months. He left India on May 24, 1934.

As the Quaid's attempts to unite the Muslims on one platform were a threat to their interests, some Muslim leaders set out to oust him again from Muslim politics immediately after the Quaid sailed for England. The Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Fazle Hussain, at the behest of the Aga Khan, called together some leaders at Simla. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf, Sir Syed Raza Ali, Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan, Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain and others assembled. They decided to form a League-Conference Parliamentary Majlis, under the convenorship of the Nawab of Chhatari, with Hafiz Hidayat Hossain and Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan as Secretaries, to contest the elections to the Central legislatures which were going to be held in October-November 1934, under the 1919 Act.

Hafiz Hidayat Hossain called an emergency meeting of the League Council for the approval of this decision. He did not obtain permission of the president which was necessary under

the constitution. He also did not send the notice of the meeting to all the members. As a result, only a handful of members attended the meeting which was held at Simla on August 13, 1934, under the presidentship of Sir Syed Raza Ali. It approved the formation of the Parliamentary Majlis. Abdul Matin Choudhry and Shah Masood Ahmad, both members of the Quaid's Independent Party in the Central Assembly, challenged the validity of the meeting. But Sir Syed Raza Ali over-ruled them.

Some other leaders were gathered by Ch. Khaliquzzaman and Raja of Saleempur at Lucknow. They set up a Unity Board of their own for contesting the elections.

The leaders belonging to the Muslim Conference did not rest with the formation of the Parliamentary Majlis. They again attempted to eliminate the League from the political scene with a view to form a new organization under the name of 'League-Conference Majlis.' Hafiz Hidayat Hossain started to re-draw the list of the Council members, removing from the League Council membership the names of all those who were opposed to merger, and enlisting his own friends as members with a view to having majority of his supporters in the Council.

He instructed me to amend Office records accordingly. He was not empowered under the constitution to remove or enlist any members. I, therefore, refused to carry out his instructions. He decided to remove me from my post and take control of the League Office himself. But he could not find any excuse therefor. He, however, resorted to another subterfuge. He instructed me to shift the League Office to another premises. The premises selected by him had their own peculiarity. Owned by Khan Bahadur S.M. Abdullah, one of the Joint Secretaries of the League and a supporter of the move to wind up the League, they consisted of an ante-room which did not have any independent access. The idea was that by shifting the Office to these premises I could be locked out, and they could have complete control over the Office. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain was not competent to order me to shift the Office. To defeat his designs, I arranged with Nawab Abid, the landlord of the League Office premises, to file a suit and to serve a court order upon me, restraining me from shifting the furniture

and records in lieu of non-payment of rent. Before these orders could be vacated, a strong opposition challenged the action of the Khan Bahadur. He could not face it and retraced his steps.

By the time the Quaid returned from England in January 1935, the saner elements among Muslim leadership realized the futility of all these activities and gathered round him. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Hossain had by then died; and in his place Sir Mohammad Yakub was re-elected the Honorary Secretary of the League.

The Quaid had to go to England again on April 23, 1935. Before he sailed, I expressed my fears that differences and rifts would again surface and create hurdles in the smooth running of the League. He advised *vide* his letter dated April 21, 1935:

> "I shall be back in December. Till then I hope that you will be able to carry on the affairs of the League in harmony and satisfactorily."

He returned in October. I immediately sought his instructions for holding a meeting of the Council, and suggested that the 30th of December would be a suitable date. He agreed and wrote on November 24, 1935:

> "Yes, 30th December will suit me and if you think that it will suit all other members and there will be good gathering, please issue notice without delay."

As decided, the meeting of the Council was held at Delhi on December 30 and 31, 1935. This meeting, attended by Sir Mohammad Yakub, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Raja Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmoodabad, Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Sir Abdullah Haroon, Syed Hossain Imam, Begum Mohammad Ali, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Malik Barkat Ali, Syed Zakir Ali, Syed Hasan Ryaz and 30 other members, discussed various proposals for reorganization and decided to hold the League Session at Bombay to consider and adopt various measures for reconsolidation.

Maulana Shaukat Ali had proposed the name of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to preside over the Session. But on the proposal of the Quaid, Sir Syed Wazir Hasan[14] was elected.

The Session was held on April 11 and 12, 1936. It decided that the League should contest elections to the Provincial legislatures. It empowered the Quaid to form Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards and authorized him to reorganize the Muslim League.

In this Session, the League elected Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan as its Honorary Secretary. While handing over the charge of his office, Sir Mohammad Yakub[15] gave my hand in the hand of the Nawabzada and told him: 'Here is the League and

سپردم به تو مایه خویش را'

The decisions taken in this Session prepared the ground for transformation of the League from a drawing-room body into a country-wide mass organization and opened a new chapter in its history as a really reckonable political force.

The Quaid immediately started to give a practical shape to the decisions taken at this Session. As the elections were not far away, he worked with a sense of urgency for the formation of a broad-based and representative Central Parliamentary Board. But he received many set-backs. A majority of the provincial politicians continued to oppose, tooth and nail, his attempts to unite the Muslims on one platform. Their political activities thrived on chaos and disorganization. They had their own parties, mostly alliances of a few families and of conveniences. Led by Sahibzada Abdul Qayum in the N.W.F.P., Sir Fazle Hussain in the Punjab; Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in Sind; A.K. Fazlul Haq in Bengal; and Sir Mohammad Saadullah in Assam, they all considered the Quaid's call for unity a threat to their regional supremacy. The situation in some of the minority provinces, too, was no better. In the United Provinces, the Nawab of Chhatari; in Behar, Sir Mohammad Yunus;

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[14] The association of Sir Syed Wazir Hasan with the League was of long standing. He was its Honorary Secretary during 1912—1919. He had later joined the judicial service and remained out of politics. But in 1937, he severed his association with the League and lent his support to the Congress.

[15] Sir Mohammad Yakub did not take active part in politics subsequently, as he suffered from ill-health. Later he accepted invitation of the Nizam to join his Government. He died at Hyderabad on November 23, 1942.

and in Bombay, Sir A.M.K. Dehlavi had formed their own parties. They refused to come to the League's fold.

The Quaid, however, was not disheartened. Allama Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Abdul Matin Choudhry, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, M.A.H. Ispahani and Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad worked together to make his mission a success. They were able to rally a group of selfless workers around him. Ultimately in May, 1936, the Quaid announced the formation of a Board of 54 members.

The Board had its first meeting at Lahore from the 8th to 11th June, 1936, at the Yekki Gate residence of Mian Abdul Aziz. Here the rules and regulations and a Manifesto, as drafted by the Quaid, defining the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League were adopted. The meeting elected the Quaid as the president; Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmed Khan of Mahmoodabad as the Treasurer; and Abdul Matin Choudhry as the Secretary of the Board.

The Provincial Boards, too, were set up; and the League contested the elections to the various Provincial legislatures held in January and February, 1937.

The League won only 102 out of the total of 485 Muslim seats in the elections. But the pattern of its organizational structure underwent a dramatic change. The Quaid's message of UNITY, FAITH AND DISCIPLINE was carried during the election campaign to millions of Muslims in every nook and corner of the Subcontinent. The Muslim masses were sick of personal bickerings, jealousies and intrigues among the self-seeking leaders. They responded to his call magnificently and rallied round the League.

As a result of this spontaneous response, the League became a well-organized party in a few months time. Its branches sprang up every where. The League's phenomenal growth set athinking those who had opposed the Quaid's policies. Some of them joined the League without any reservation, while others joined it to protect their own interests. Betrayals and desertions, too, were not infrequent; and the rôles of Mir Jaffer and Sadiq were re-enacted

by some of those whom we now give a place of reverence in our history.

The year 1936 and the following years was the period when a scattered crowd of Muslims was welded into a nation. And this was entirely due to the toil and painstaking efforts of only one man—Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah.

So far I have narrated briefly the vicissitudes and conflicts through which the League passed upto 1936. It is by no means a complete history of the League; nor is it a detailed picture of the political life of the Quaid. Nevertheless, it does provide a framework for a thorough study. As the material regarding the League activities from 1936 onward is voluminous, I have not dealt with those events here. They have been dealt with in the next volumes.

Before 1936, the League was financially very unsound. It has generally been alleged that it was an organization of Nawabs and big landlords. The fact is that the League did not receive any financial assistance from them. Its Central Office depended for its maintenance mostly on the annual subscriptions of the ordinary members. The collection of subscription was a difficult task. We posted requests for its payment by V.P.P. (Value Payable Parcel). In a majority of cases, they were returned unpaid! In some cases, we used to recover the dues at the time of the Annual Sessions or the Council meetings. When the Office was in Lucknow, and sufficient subscription was not collected, the Maharaja of Mahmoodabad came to the League's rescue. By the time the Central Office was shifted in 1927 to Delhi, the League had temporarily lost its importance, and its income from subscriptions was reduced to almost nothing. The appeals for donations made by its Secretaries, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu and Sir Mohammad Yakub, were seldom responded to. So far as the Quaid was concerned, he did not like to make any public appeal for donations as a matter of principle. He repeatedly told me that the members of the League must realize their obligation and pay their subscription regularly.

Rifts and conflicts within the League during the Quaid's absence from India had worsened its financial position. Most of

the time there were no adequate funds even for payment of the monthly rent of the premises and for printing and publishing the League proceedings and other literature. Often the creditors filed suits against the League and obtained orders from the court to seal its office and attach its furniture and records for auction. In these circumstances it was quite a difficult task to maintain and run the League Office. But somehow I managed to do it and kept and preserved all the correspondence, papers, documents, minutes, and proceedings.

This valuable record, which was complete in all respects and could have been extremely useful in the study of the freedom movement between 1906 and 1947, was irreparably damaged after Martial Law was imposed in October 1958. The Central Office of the Muslim League was sealed. Later on, the entire record was put in bags and dumped on the roof of the Muslim League House under the open sky, as the premises were allotted to the Pakistan Insurance Corporation. I took the matter to the then Foreign Minister, Manzoor Qadir who intervened; and the record was shifted to a barrack in the Pakistan Secretariat. It was much later, towards the end of 1966, that it was handed over to the Karachi University. I am happy to learn that work is in progress to restore and preserve whatever has survived the vagaries of nature and human indifference.

The Muslim League record and the Quaid's papers taken from the *Qasr-e-Fatima*, along with my Collection will give, to an appreciable extent, a comprehensive picture of the day-to-day events and political activities encompassing a period of more than four decades in the history of the Muslims of the Subcontinent. They will help to evaluate properly the roles which different leaders played, and the contribution which the common man made in the historic struggle for Pakistan. These papers, still, do not form a complete collection of all the source-material. Therefore, many aspects of our freedom movement, I am afraid, will remain obscure.

It is difficult for anyone to claim that he knew the Quaid well and was familiar with him and understood his exact feelings, process of thinking and personal habits. This selection will, therefore,

prove a great help in the study of various aspects of the Quaid's life, and will provide a reliable commentary on, and foot notes to, the historic events preceding the establishment of Pakistan.[16]

That I should have been chosen by the Quaid for passing on this correspondence to those whom it belongs—the nation—is a matter of no small pride to me. I pray to God to give me strength to complete the task entrusted to me by the Quaid. Amen!

S. Shamsul Hasan

Al-Shams,
Block IV, Nazimabad, Karachi.
July 31, 1976.

[16] So far as I know, the only persons now alive who had the privilege of knowing the Quaid's personal habits, are Matlub Hussain Saiyid, K.H. Khurshid and A.Y. Syed, for they worked as his Private Secretaries longer than anyone else.

You ask me to give you a message on the occasion of the birthday of the Holy Prophet. What message can I give you today, save that every Muslim throughout the world should live up to the best traditions of Islam, the faith which came to us through the Holy Prophet (peace be upon his soul).

Islam came in the world to establish democracy, peace and justice; to safeguard the rights of the oppressed. It brought to humanity the message of equality of the rich and the poor, of the high and the low. The Holy Prophet fought for these ideals for the major part of his life. Is it not, therefore, the duty of every Muslim, wherever he may be, to do his level best to preserve the great ideals and the glorious traditions of Islam, to fight for the equality of mankind, the achievement of man's legitimate rights, and the establishment of democracy? We in India believe that Pakistan is our legitimate demand, our birthright. We believe that it is in consonance with democratic principles and justice. We are, therefore, determined to fight for it and *Insha Allah* we shall win.

Text of the message sent by the Quaid on February 5, 1945 to the Eiditor, MUSLIM VIEWS, Colombo, Ceylon, on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's Birthday.

. . . I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah
and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah.

The letters and papers published here have been selected from volumes containing material relating to the Quaid's personal matters. The text of the letters and papers has been reproduced without any correction or alteration.

The weekly edition of the DAILY ANJAM,[1] Delhi, published a permanent feature column by its astrologer, *Gumnam Monujjim*. The astrologer requested the Quaid on April 25, 1946, to provide him with the time, date and place of his birth for preparing and publishing his horoscope in the Weekly. The Quaid sent the required information on April 30, 1946, from Delhi:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th April and thank you for it.

The information that you required is as follows:

Time: Early morning
Date: 25th December 1876[2]
Place: Karachi

Yours faithfully,

The *Gumnam Monujjim*
The ANJAM Weekly
P.O. Box No. 68
Delhi

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[1] The Daily ANJAM owned by Usman Azad was an influential Urdu newspaper of Delhi and had on its Editorial Board such eminent writers as Fahimuddin Noori, Sardar Ali Sabiri and Umar Farooqi. After partition, Usman Azad brought out the paper from Karachi and later on published a Peshawar Edition as well. The paper was closed down in 1964 after it was taken over by the National Press Trust.

[2] The records of the two schools—Sind Madrasatul Islam and Church Missionary Society High School—attended by the Quaid at Karachi show October 20, 1875 as the date of his birth. Probably it was in later years that the Quaid could ascertain the correct date.

* * *

The Quaid studied in two schools at Karachi: Sind Madrasatul Islam[3] and Church Missionary Society High School.[4] On October 23, 1946, Rev. S.N. Spence, the Principal of the C.M.S. High School, invited the Quaid to attend the centenary celebrations of the school:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very glad to hear that you propose to visit Karachi early in the month of November, particularly as we are arranging to hold the centenary celebrations of this school, the oldest in this province, from 9th-16th November. Our opening celebration will be held on Saturday November 9th from 5.30-7.30 p.m. under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor of Sind. Could you spare the time to be present on that occasion and briefly address the gathering and also preside at the annual sports of the school and the prize distribution to be held on Saturday 16th prox. in the late afternoon?

We are proud to number you among our former pupils and to know that this school had had at least a part in the early training of one of India's most distinguished sons. I shall be most grateful if you can inform me when you studied in this school and of details of interest of those days

[3] He was admitted in Sind Madrasatul Islam on July 4, 1887, in Standard I, but after securing admission he had to leave for Bombay where he studied for some time in Anjuman-e-Islam School. He came back to Karachi by the end of the year and was re-admitted in the same standard in Sind Madrasah on December 23, 1887. He remained on the rolls upto January 5, 1891. When a student of Standard IV, his name was struck off due to long absence. But he was again admitted to the Madrasah on February 9, 1891. He finally left the Madrasah on January 30, 1892, when a student of Standard V, for his marriage.

[4] After his marriage he took admission in the C.M.S. High School. The following particulars appear in the School Records:

Entry No:	483
Name as entered in the admission register:	Mahomed Ali Jinnah.
Date of Birth:	20th October 1875.
Signature of the student:	Mahomed Ali Jinnahbhai.
From where came:	Madressa.
Paying/Free:	Paying.
Date of admission:	8th March 1892.
Class:	VI Standard.
Left on:	31 October 1892.
Age on admission:	16 years, 4 months and 11 days.

here. Perhaps you would kindly refer me to a good biography for further information on your life.

I shall send you shortly a full programme of the centenary celebrations for your information. I shall look forward to news of your acceptance of our invitation.

Yours sincerely,

Principal

P.S. We shall be delighted if your sister, too, will accompany you to the opening of prize distribution.

The Quaid replied on November 11, 1946 as follows:

Dear Mr. Spence,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd October and thank you for it. How I wish I had been in Karachi from the 9th to 16th of November, so that I could have participated in the centenary celebrations of the school, where I had the privilege of receiving my early education. As one of the old pupils of your school, I whole-heartedly rejoice in the celebrations of the centenary.

I am afraid, I am not aware of any book except one, which is written by Mr. M.H. Saiyid called JINNAH or a pamphlet entitled JINNAH FACES AN ASSASSIN in which the sketch of my life is given by Mr. Akber A. Peerbhoy, Bar-at-Law of Bombay.

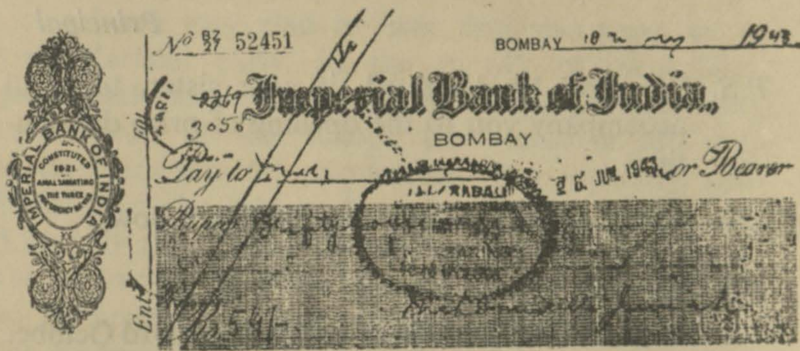
Originally my programme was to get to Karachi before the 16th, but unfortunately, I shall not be able to do so now till the 20th instant.

Miss Jinnah and I both thank you most heartily for your kind invitation.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The Quaid, through a Court Order granted on April 14, 1894, in London, changed his name from Mahomedalli Jinnahbhai to M.A. Jinnah. I have not found any instance of his having spelt his name in full as 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah'—the spellings which are in general use. He, however, maintained and operated one of his bank accounts as MAHOMEDALLI JINNAH as shown in the facsimile of a cheque drawn on the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay:



* * *

Shaikh Mohammad Akhtar Hussain of NAKHLISTAN, Barh, Patna, sent a photograph and the following letter to the Quaid on July 30, 1943:

My dear Uncle,

You need not be surprised on my addressing you thus as the ties and bonds of Islam are so wide and universal. May I say that I have more reasons than that, as I used to hear from my father, late Mr. Shaikh Ahmed Hussain Khan, Bar-at-Law, son of late K.B. Shaikh Bahadur Ali Khan of Barh, Distt. Patna, that Mr. H.B. Tyabji and yourself along with others were studying together in the same class or institution and in the words of Mr. H.B. Tyabji, have been inseparable for several years in England.[5]

[5] The Quaid reached England for further studies in the beginning of 1893 and returned to Karachi in 1896. Miss Jinnah had shown me a cheque book of a London bank which contained a counterfoil bearing a date of February 1893, and told me that the Quaid had opened the account immediately after his arrival in London.

I am shocked to hear of the sad and most deplorable incident[6] of the heinous crime and dastardly attack on your precious life and that of the entire community, nay of the entire soil.

With Islamic culture and Indian mentality I cannot dare as a nephew, offer my congratulation on the narrow escape but I can alright thank God the Almightly Who has saved your life and pray to Him to grant you a speedy recovery and protect you always from all evils, *Ameen.*

Will it be too much, my dear uncle, to beg of you to kindly let me have a word or two about your progress and health.

Respectfull regards,

Yours affectionately,

Akhtar

P.S. In my father's Album I find a photograph which I think has a close resemblance with you which I am sending along. May I know if I am correct.

The Quaid replied on August 8th, 1943:

Dear Mr. Akhtar,

Many thanks for your letter expressing your sympathy and making kind enquiries about my health. I am favourably progressing and hope to be alright very soon.

Yes, that photograph is mine and I am returning it to you. I was glad to note that your father, who

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[6] In the later part of 1942, the Khaksar leader, Inayatullah Khan Mashraqi, unleashed a campaign of villification against the Quaid. Many letters were sent to the Quaid by the Khaksars from all parts of India, asking him to arrive at a compromise with Gandhiji and threatening him with dire consequences if he did not do so. On July 26, 1943, this campaign culminated in an attempt on the Quaid's life when a Khaksar, Rafiq Sabir, attacked the Quaid with a knife at his Bombay residence.

was my contemporary student in England, had preserved this photo.

Yours sincerely,

Later, the Quaid desired that the photograph be included in Matlub's JINNAH: A POLITICAL STUDY; but it was not traceable and could not be published.

* * *

The court of the Muslim University, Aligarh, decided on April 12, 1942, to confer an honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on the Quaid. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor, wrote to the Quaid on April 23, 1942, from Aligarh, conveying the decision of the court:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The court of this University at its last meeting held on the 12th April, 1942, has authorised me to take necessary steps for the conferment of an honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on any date that may be convenient to you. Will you please let me know what time will be convenient to you so that I may take necessary steps.

Yours sincerely,

Ziauddin Ahmed

The Quaid did not reply. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed again wrote to him on September 30, 1942. Sending a copy of his letter dated April 23, he requested him to fix a date convenient to him for holding the Special Convocation:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to meet you in Delhi. You were busy in the first week. I went twice to your house, but you were engaged and I myself fell ill during the last four days of my stay,

so much so that I had to deliver my speech on the Khaksar question with a temperature of 102. There were several points I wanted to discuss with you.

I sent you a letter on the 23rd April, 1942, a copy of which is enclosed herein for ready reference, and I spoke to you personally. I will have to lay your reply before the next meeting of the Executive Council. We want some notice for holding the Special Convocation. You may please let me know the time that may be most convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,

Ziauddin Ahmed

Writing on October 4, 1942, from Delhi, the Quaid declined to accept the honour, declaring that he was averse to any title or honours and hoped to die as plain Mr. Jinnah:

Dear Dr. Sir Ziauddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th September; and I am thankful to the court of the Muslim University, Aligarh, for having decided to confer an honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on me. While I appreciate very much indeed the spirit which has actuated the court to take this decision, I have, most reluctantly, to say that I have lived as plain Mr. Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr. Jinnah. I am very much averse to any title or honours and I will be more happy if there was no prefix to my name.

I, therefore, hope that the court will in deference to my feelings and sentiments, be good enough to reconsider their decision, although I fully realise that no greater honour can be done to a man than what is proposed to be conferred upon me by the court of the Muslim University.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed wrote to the Quaid again on December 3, 1942:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I laid your letter of the 4th October 1942 before the Executive Council, and the Council unanimously asked me to request you to reconsider your decision. Your non-acceptance will be a great disappointment. The inclusion of your name among the recipients of honorary Degrees will be a great honour to the University.

Yours sincerely,

Ziauddin Ahmed

Writing from Delhi on January 6, 1943, the Quaid again declined to accept the Degree:

Dear Sir Ziauddin,

Many thanks for your letter of the 3rd of December 1942. As requested by you on behalf of the Executive Council to reconsider my decision, I have again thought over the matter in deference to their wishes and I can only say that I am unable to accept the great honour that the Council proposes to confer upon me. It is not that I do not appreciate the feelings behind it, but there are various reasons and I have reluctantly to say that really I am unable to concede to this well-meant request.

Please convey my deepest thanks and appreciation of the decision of the Executive Council to confer upon me this great honour. I hope, however, that the Council will not misunderstand me for the conclusion that I have come to so unwillingly.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

Though he disliked, the Quaid could not dissuade the Muslims of the Subcontinent from addressing him as 'Quaid-e-Azam'. The title was used first by Maulana Mazharuddin in his bi-weekly ALAMAN (published from Delhi) in the beginning of 1938, and it immediately became popular. Maulana Mazharuddin was very vocal in criticizing the *Ulema* belonging to the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind*. Because of that he was assasinated on March 13, 1939, in Delhi.

* * *

MEET MR. JINNAH—a life sketch, written by A.A. Ravoof of DECCAN TIMES, Madras—was published in early 1944. While Ravoof gave a correct account of the Quaid's political activities, some incorrect material based on hearsay about the personal matters was incorporated in the book. The Quaid in a letter dated June 9, 1944 (the letter is not available), pointed out some of the inaccuracies to Ravoof, who replying to the Quaid on July 7, 1944, tried to explain his position:

Respected Quaide Azam,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th ultimo and thank you for it. It is really very kind of you to have pointed out to me certain inaccuracies with regard to your private life which have appeared in my book. I am sorry to learn that the thirty lakhs dowry affair is an untruth. While extremely regretting the inaccuracies, I cannot but say—as I had made it clear in the Preface—your private life is your own; except to friends and relatives it is a handful of conjectures. Kindly intimate to me if there are any other important inaccuracies so that I may carry out necessary corrections in my future editions.

It was a pleasure to learn from you that so far as your political activities are concerned, I have

brought out very prominently the important points, fairly well and accurately. I hope you have finished reading the book more critically. Kindly let me know if there is any further inaccurate information so that I may correct it in the next edition.

As I propose going to the press early next month for a second impression, I shall be much obliged if you will please write to me at your earliest convenience.

With loving regards,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,

A.A. Ravoof

As the Quaid did not reply, Ravoof again wrote to him on September 2, 1944, from Madras:

Respected Qaede Azam,

I have been very eagerly reading the papers to know of your welfare and am much relieved that you are speedily recovering from the recent illness.

I am sorry that I have not been so far favoured with your reply to my registered letter under date 7.7.44 (copy enclosed herein for your notice). As I have been awaiting your letter I could not go in for the second edition of my book, nor send to the papers the correction kindly pointed out by you in your last letter. I am anxious that mistakes, if any, should be corrected before the book goes in for a second impression. I will be highly thankful to you for any kind suggestion on the matter.

Meanwhile, I was pained to read in the review of the HINDU a reference to the dowry matter and

and also your letter[7] with regard to it. I hasten to apologise for the insertion of the inaccuracy in the said Daily. I have now written to all the papers to whom the books have been sent for review to delete the passage that has been inadvertently and on inaccurate information included in the biography. As I wish to make the second edition as authoritative as possible, I will be very much obliged if you will kindly furnish me with details pertaining to parentage, education in England and private life, about which so little is known.

Once again extremely regretting the inaccuracies in the book and eagerly expecting your reply,

I am
Yours very sincerely,
A.A. Ravoof

This letter was replied by the Quaid on September 5, 1944, from Bombay:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 2nd.

I should have thought that you would have realised, on careful consideration that it is not possible for me to undertake the task of revising your book, and that it is the duty of an author not to give publicity to any incidental facts relating to the life of anyone without making sure of them beforehand. It is for you to ascertain the correct facts and omit from your book anything based on rumours and

[7] The Quaid had sent the following letter to the HINDU on August 19, 1944, from Bombay which was published by it on August 27:

Dear Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the review of my biography in the HINDU recently, in which it is suggested that as a result of my marriage in 1918, I got a dowry of Rs. 30 lakhs. This is absolutely untrue, and I hope that you will be kind enough to publish this contradiction prominently in your paper. I have already informed the author to that effect.

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

fiction. I would have certainly taken a very serious view of this matter but for the fact that I know of your regard for me and that your intentions are good. I would, therefore, request you to exclude from your book anything of which you are not sure regarding my private life, as I cannot undertake the revision of the book. If it were possible for me to do so, I might have written my own autobiography, for which I have no time. I hope that you will understand the spirit in which I am writing to you, as I understand the spirit in which you have brought out the book, and written to me.

Yours faithfully,

As a result of this correspondence, relevant portions were expunged from the second edition.

* * *

Another author, Imtiyaz, of Erangiri (Mysore), who wrote a booklet—THE MIND OF MUSLIM INDIA—and sent a few complimentary copies on November 15, 1945, was chided by the Quaid for writting certain things about him without first ascertaining real facts. The Quaid's letter dated December 5, 1945, reads:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 15th, and thank you for the copies of THE MIND OF MUSLIM INDIA that you have sent me, but I regret to have to say that you have committed a great blunder, as was done by a Madras writer previously, in stating that my wife received a dowry of 30 lakhs of rupees. That was contradicted, and that writer corrected it in the second edition of his book. Equally you have made another mistake in saying that my daughter is married to a Parsi. I wish that you would not write about the private life of a man without making sure of the real facts. Of course, I appreciate your motive and intention in taking the trouble of

writing this little pamphlet, and that it is inspired by your desire to help the Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

After the shifting of the League Office to Delhi in February 1927, I acted as a sort of chamberlain to the Quaid whenever he visited Delhi. His relations with his wife, Mariam, were estranged during this period (she died shortly afterwards in February 1929) and he resided alone, sometimes at the Cecil or Maiden's and sometimes at the Western Courts—the accommodation provided by the Government for the members of the Legislative Assembly.[8] He was not as careful about his health as in other matters. The Delhi winters did not suit him; and he often suffered from severe attacks of cold and flu. Inspite of his poor health, he attended the Assembly; participated in its debates; and devoted most of his time and energy to political activities.

In those days whenever he fell ill, he consulted Dr. Ansari. I recall that once Dr. Ansari prescribed for him Lecivan, a preparation of Bengal Chemicals, which considerably improved his health, and which he took even in later years.

After his return from England in 1935, he remained under the care of Miss Jinnah. She looked after him with deep affection and was very particular about his health. The Quaid also had great love for her, calling her endearingly 'Fatto'; and when indisposed, obeyed her instructions rigidly. As a result he enjoyed a comparatively better health. But the strain he passed through in connection with the League reorganization ruined his health. From 1943 onwards, he was seldom well. In those days, he was treated by Dr. Col. A. Rehman, who, after Partition was appointed Honorary Physician to the Governor-General of Pakistan. When Dr. A. Rehman was not available he consulted other physicians.

I have not found any prescription in the Collection handed

[8] The Quaid and Miss Jinnah whenever on a visit to Delhi after Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had been elected Secretary of the League in April 1936, stayed with him and Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali at their residence GUL-I-RA'ANA, 8-B, Hardinge Avenue. It was later that the Quaid purchased 10, Aurangzeb Road residence.

over to me. A few letters exchanged with some of the physicians who treated him, are, however, available.

* * *

In September 1944, the Quaid underwent a course of treatment prescribed by Dr. D.K. Mehta of the Nature Cure Clinic and Sanatorium, Poona. Dr. Mehta attended on Gandhiji too. Perhaps it was on Gandhiji's suggestion that the Quaid received his treatment, as the period coincides with that in which Gandhi-Jinnah Talks were held. Subsequently, some correspondence was exchanged between the Quaid and Dr. Mehta, out of which six letters are available. The first letter of Dr. Mehta written from Poona on October 5, 1944, is as under:

My dear Mr. M. Jina,

Today I have dispatched per parcel the 'bhusi' of 'Isapghul' I prescribed and promised to you. I am sorry for the little delay due to pressure of work.

I hope you are maintaining the benefit you derived as a result of what little I could do for you during the few days of the treatment. Now for further results, it is upto you to arrange your programme for course advised in the report. Meanwhile please follow the regimen prescribed as best as you can, and if there is anything I can do for you from this distance I shall be happy to do so.

I thank you for the courtesy and cordiality you have showed towards me during the short contact. I cherish them, and hope to improve on further acquaintance. A couple of times you did give me some 'shocks' to which I would have reacted differently under ordinary circumstances. They were rather jarring for my sensibility. But I appreciate the paternal way in which you smoothened out my ruffled feelings.

I have observed that we do have differences

of opinion on certain matters, some of which you may be aware of; but when there is compatibility in the matters of 'heart', the differences in the working of the 'head' are of lesser importance from my point of view.

Now I close with kind regards for both you and Miss Jina, and place myself at your disposal if and when you want me.

Yours truly,

D.K. Mehta

The Quaid acknowledged the letter from Bombay on October 19, 1944:

Dear Dr. Mehta,

Many thanks for your letter of October 5th, and it was very kind of you indeed to have sent me the bottle of 'bhusi'. I am very thankful to you for the few days' treatment that I underwent at your hands, and generally I feel better, and during our contact I was pleased also to exchange certain views with you. As regards my deciding to come to your Clinic, it is not possible for me yet to say when. You know it is very difficult for me to get away from my work. Thank you again for all your kindness, and with very kind regards from both of us,

Yours sincerely,

Again on December 22, 1944, the Quaid, while writing to Dr. Mehta from Bombay, sent a cheque for Rs. 250 as his fee:

Dear Dr. Mehta,

I received your letter when I was in Delhi. But for the moment I am unable to trace it in my files, hence I am replying to you from my memory of its contents. I thank you for your kind offer to make

arrangements if I decide to visit your Clinic at Poona. Unfortunately it seems to me that just now it will not be possible for me to do so. I also go by my memory that you had stated in your letter the amount of the fees due to you for your kind treatment to me up to date, which as far as I remember is Rs. 250 and I am sending you herewith a cheque for this amount.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Mehta returned the cheque. The letter along which he returned the cheque is not available. However, a subsequent letter which he wrote on April 16, 1945, from Bombay, refers to the reasons for not accepting the fee:

Dear Mr. Mahommadalli Jinnah,

I have learnt from the papers today that you are in Bombay and convalescing. I am also in the city till the 20th, when I shall be leaving for Poona, and probably Mahableshwar with Bapu [Gandhiji]. If I or our branch can be of any help to you, we shall feel happy to render the service.

Some months back I wrote to you a letter, returning with it your cheque you sent to me for what little service I rendered to you last time. It is indeed very considerate of you to do so, but I could not accept if for reasons mentioned in the accompanying letter with it. This just occurred to me to inquire of you whether you received the same, since I did not receive any acknowledgement from you upto now.

Wishing you the best of health, with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

D.K. Mehta

The Quaid, who in the meanwhile had gone to Matheran[9] for rest, replied on April 25, 1945, and insisted that Dr. Mehta should accept his fee:

Dear Dr. Mehta,

Many thanks for your letter of 16th April. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier, as I was then just about to leave for Matheran, and you know that I have not been well. But I am glad to inform you that I am almost all right and hope to be quite well very soon. Therefore, I hope that you will excuse the delay.

Yes, I received your letter returning the cheque which was sent to you. While I appreciate your kindness and regards for me in refusing to receive your fees for your professional services, which you were kind enough to render in Bombay, I cannot agree with you why I should not be allowed to pay your professional fees. I did not reply to your letter at the moment because I really did not know what to say. But I would request you to reconsider your decision and let me have your memo of fees. It will give me much greater satisfaction if you will accept what is really due to you apart from the kindness that you showed me during the period when I was under your treatment.

Finally, I am very grateful to you for your very cordial offer of help to me and offering your services. I shall certainly not hesitate to avail myself of the services, if I can manage to do so, for, it means, I must at least give up my work for one month.

Thanking you again,

Yours sincerely,

[9] The Quaid stayed for about three months at Readymoney Lodge which belonged to the family of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the Deputy Leader of the Independent Party in the Central Legislative Assembly.

But Dr. Mehta did not agree and wrote on April 28, 1945, from Poona:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received you kind letter dated 25th April '45 yesterday. I appreciate fully your desire to pay me for what little I did for you in my professional way, but please do not 'rob' me of the satisfaction of having served you in the first contact with you by paying me off! Those patients who are required to pay are duly presented with the bills at our rates, but you do not come in that category for reasons I had already mentioned in my letter before last.

If ever you decide to come to Poona for the Treatments or the Course, please intimate to me at least one week beforehand to enable me to keep ready the Cottage accommodation I had promised you.

You can conduct your routine work from here, as you probably are doing from Matheran now. Besides for mere Treatments other than the Course, you can come for a week to a fortnight also. It is the Courses that go by months, but for the former you will have to be content with 'management' of your complaints and a 'pick-me-up' rather than a cure and a radical change in health and weight. Further the real Poona Season will begin from June onwards, when Matheran would be impossible to stay in.

I shall be leaving for Mahableshwar on the 30th to attend on Bapu again. He is gradually improving and we hope he picks up enough health and strength before he leaves for Sevagram. In his case also the time factor comes in the way for the Course for a cure through our Institution.

Now I close with regards for self and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,

D.K. Mehta

Further correspondence with Dr. Mehta is not available.

* * *

The Quaid fell ill in March 1945 during his stay at Delhi, and was treated by Dr. Albert Batty of 6, Underhill Road. By the second week of April he recovered and left for Bombay. While reporting his departure for Bombay, the HINDUSTAN TIMES, Delhi, in the issue of April 12, 1945, published the following:

MR. JINNAH MAKING STEADY PROGRESS

NEW DELHI, Wednesday: Mr. M.A. Jinnah, president of the All-India Muslim League, left this morning for Bombay. While in Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was under the treatment of Dr. Rehman and had made steady progress. The doctor allowed Mr. Jinnah to undertake the journey, but he has been strictly advised to have complete rest and continue the treatment—A.P.I.

Sending a clipping to the Quaid, Dr. Batty took strong exception to the mention of Dr. Rehman's name in the report. His letter dated April 13, 1945, reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a cutting from the HINDUTAN TIMES of the 12th April 45, for your perusal; a report of the similar nature also appeared in the DAWN of the previous date. On enquiry at the offices of A.P.I. and the DAWN, I was informed, to my surprise, that it was exact to the report that a responsible person at No. 12 Aurangzeb Road (your house) had given them for publication. I am not seeking any self-advertisement; but if no name of a doctor had been mentioned in the report it would not have been quite so belittling to me. I cannot bring myself to believe that you knew anything about the report; perhaps somebody does not quite relish that you were under my treatment. However, since the reports appear to have emanated from your house, I regret I cannot accept your cheque which I am returning. You know, Mr. Jinnah, "man does not live on bread alone"

(to quote from the Scriptures). Had you called in Dr. Rahman, whoever that worthy may be, it would have saved me the anxiety and worry which a doctor generally feels when treating a case of serious illness.

This may be 'making mountain of a mole-hill', but then mole-hills do hurt some people who do not go in for mountaineering.

I sincerely hope you are enjoying your rest and have thoroughly recovered now.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

A. Batty

The Quaid replied on April 24, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Dr. Batty,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th April, and thank you for it. I hope you will excuse the delay as I was not able to attend to my correspondence as regularly as I ought to, because I was giving myself as much rest as possible.

I have read the press cutting from HINDUSTAN TIMES, enclosed in your letter; and I see that you feel that the report mentioning a name of the doctor is "belittling" to you, and you have condmned *ex parte* without hearing me or waiting for my explanation, because according to your enquiries, the report that appeared in the press did emanate from my house; and you have adopted a course of passing the sentence on me by returning the cheque which was sent to you for your professional attendance on me during my recent indisposition.

You know that so far as my immediate illness was concerned, you declared by about the

end of March that I was completely all right, and of your own accord informed me that there was no more need of you to attend to me; and as usual, you sent your bill in the first week of April, which was paid by my cheque on the 8th of April. Dr. Rehman has treated me on several occasions before and as I found that he was in Delhi, I naturally consulted him generally and he did treat me for a few days before my departure for Bombay. I see you realize yourself, when you yourself say in your letter that "this may be making a mountain of a mole-hill", but you feel hurt by this mole-hill because of the report that appeared in the HINDUSTAN TIMES. Let me tell you that after your letter I have seen different papers and I find that they have given different versions, including DAWN. You have no experience how these reports get mutilated and are gathered. My office was, no doubt, pressed by the news agencies, the press and various other quarters wanting some information, and my Secretary naturally gave them such information in the ordinary course as was available to him; and as a result of conversation or conversations that might have taken place, the news agencies made up this paragraph. May I just point out that you describe my house as No. 12 Aurangzeb Road, which is in fact No. 10, and you have been so often to my house; which is an instance how, without questioning the bonafides of any one, mistakes are made. But let me inform you that there is nobody that I know of, who is guilty of, as you say, "not quite relishing" that I was under your treatment.

As far as I am concerned, you know you have been my doctor for a long time in Delhi; and during my recent illness your name came uppermost in my mind and you were asked to attend to me. Let me tell you that I am very grateful to you for all that you did for me, not merely as a professional

man, which of course is your duty, and the keen and special interest that you took in looking after me. I am very glad to inform you that I am having complete rest and hope very soon to return to my active life.

In these circumstances, I am returning the cheque to you and I hope you will accept it and forget the incident. I can see that the report is unhappily worded and might be interpretted as you suggest. But you know, or ought to know, what the press and news agencies are.

Hoping you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

* * *

Dr. Jal Patel, a Physician of Bombay, who was later appointed Honorary Physician to the President of the Indian Union, also treated the Quaid. Two letters written to him by the Quaid are available. The letter dated December 13, 1944, from Delhi, reads as under:

Dear Dr. Jal Patel,

After I arrived here I continued your treatment for about three weeks, and I am glad to inform you that I am feeling much better. I could not continue it longer, as some of the medicines that you prescribed are not available here. As you emphasized Berin, which is available, I am taking small doses of it regularly.

I am leaving for Bombay on the 16th instant, and on my arrival there I shall get into touch with you. I am very thankful to you for all your kindness.

Yours sincerely,

The other letter was written by the Quaid on September 10, 1945, from Karachi:

My dear Dr. Jal Patel,

I feel much better and have gone through a lot of toil in Karachi, and I am leaving for Quetta in a couple of days. I am following your instructions, and hope to be able to do so better at a quiet place. I am very thankful to you indeed for your kindness to and concern about me.

Hoping you are well and with very kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

* * *

Sometimes the Quaid was prescribed home remedies. Writing from Hyderabad Deccan on April 14, 1945, Prof. Elias Burney, Head of Economics Department, Osmania University, advised the Quaid:

Our dearest Mr. Jinnah,

I wonder if I should take the risk to appear as if inflicting myself upon your overwhelmed attention. Hardly any one else has fought for the cause of Muslims so loyally so boldly and so consistently against such heavy odds in the history of British politics in India. Any way you will live on in hearts, in minds, and in records, as the sole guide of Muslim politics in India in your age, and a highly capable guide as well. May God bless you with health and long life.

As to your weak health at present, I feel impelled to offer a suggestion. Whatever the treatment, take olive oil (tea spoonful), mix it with Horlick's Malted Milk (table spoonful), and hot water first to make paste and then liquid thin to your taste, and take one such dose every morning and evening

at least one hour before or after meals. The dose may be increased in quantity if liked.

I feel confident the liquid diet would do your strained nerves and general debility much good and you will feel improvement in no more than a fortnight. It is harmless and dependable. Still you may also consult your doctor about it. I have tried it in delicate cases in high circles and with success.

I take liberty to offer the suggestion in the spirit of Muslim fraternity; and I am sure it would not be mistaken for intrusion. With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,

Mohd. Elias Burney

The Quaid promised to give a trial to the prescription as per his letter dated April 25, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Mr. Burney,

I am thankful to you for your very kind letter of the 14th of April, and I am glad to tell you that I am almost all right and hope to be quite all right very soon.

It is so very kind of you to make the suggestion that I should adopt the prescription mentioned by you in your letter. I will give it a trial, as it also seems to me worth trying.

Thank you for your concern about my health and your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The Quaid was enrolled as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court in 1897, having been called to the Bar at the Lincoln's Inn in 1896. Within a few years, he had well-established a reputed practice in all the fields of law—civil, criminal and constitutional.

In the papers with me, some correspondence covering the period 1942-46 is available. It throws some light on certain aspects of his professional career. These letters show that during 1942-43 the Quaid accepted very few cases, and that too mostly for consultation and opinion. The last case in which he appeared in a court of law was accepted by him in March 1942. It was the Obaidullah Waqf Case of Bhopal. He accepted two matters for consultation. In one of them the written opinion given by him is available. Two telegrams and the Quaid's reply reveal that he conducted a case in the District Court, Agra, but could not appear in the court when its hearing was fixed for February 12, 1943. These letters also show that the Quaid did some consultation work till August 1943; but thereafter he gave up his legal practice altogether.

* * *

The correspondence relating to the Waqf Case starts with a letter from Shuaib Qureshi,[10] Minister-in-Attendance to His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, dated February 28, 1942:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In the Obaidullah Khan Wakf case, on which you have so kindly given us your valued opinion, issues have been framed, and the court has fixed 14th, 15th and 16th of March 1942 for hearing discussions on the issues. I am, therefore, writing this to request you to kindly make it convenient to be here for the case and hope you will be able to come. Mr. Mohammad Waseem, Bar-at-Law of Lucknow, is also coming. I shall be most grateful if you could come.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi

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[10] Shuaib Sahib did not take any part in the politics after the fiasco of the Nehru Report. He joined the service of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal. After partition, he migrated to Pakistan. The Pakistan Government appointed him as its Ambassador in the U.S.S.R., and later on in Iraq.

As the Quaid did not reply, Shuaib Qureshi wrote again from Bhopal on March 7, 1942:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is just to remind you of my letter of 28th February 1942, a copy of which is herein enclosed for facility of reference. I am awaiting your kind reply and hope you would be able to come.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi

The Quaid rather reluctantly accepted the brief, as his letter from Delhi dated March 7, 1942, shows:

Dear Mr. Shuaib Qureshi,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th of February. I am sorry I was not able to reply earlier. I think my fees will be very heavy; and I do not think it is worth your while to take me to Bhopal even if I can come. You know that my fees are Rs. 1,500/- per day, including the day I leave and the day I arrive back. In these circumstances, don't you think you should bet on with Mr. Mohammad Waseem, a very capable man who is incharge of your case.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi wired from Bhopal on March 10, 1942:

YOUR LETTER SEVENTH APRIL STOP SHALL BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD COME STOP PLEASE WIRE STOP

The Quaid in reply sent the following telegram from Delhi on March 11, 1942:

YOUR WIRE STOP PLEASE SEND PAPERS IMMEDIATELY STOP WIRE DEFINITE DATE HEARING CASE STOP

Shuaib Qureshi replied on March 12, 1942:

MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR WIRE AAA AT SPECIAL REQUEST OF DEFENDANTS HEARING OF CASE NOW BEING POSTPONED NEXT DATES OF HEARING WILL BE INTIMATED TO YOU BY ME IN TIME WHEN I TRUST YOU WOULD FIND CONVENIENT TO COME AAA OUR VAKIL BRINGING PAPERS FOR YOUR PERUSAL STOP

The telegram was followed by a letter dated March 15, 1942:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this to you with reference to my express telegram (copy enclosed) sent to you on the evening of the 12th instant.

Our local pleader in the Obaidullah Khan Trust case, Mr. Mohammad Yaqoob Khan, whom you had also met in Bombay, had gone to Lucknow to see Mr. Mohammad Waseem and had my instructions to take all the papers to you also in Delhi; but as he learnt about the postponement of the hearing of the case through the telegram sent to Mr. Waseem, he came back straight to Bhopal and left the file with Mr. Waseem. The court has now fixed June 15th, 1942, for hearing discussions on legal issues. As the case will now come up after three months—a fairly long time—I thought I might first consult your convenience about looking into the papers. Perhaps you would now like to go through them at some date nearer the 15th of June 1942; and I will so arrange that they reach you through Mr. Mohammad Yaqoob Khan on the date and at the place fixed by you.

With reiterated thanks and looking forward

to the pleasure of having you here on the 15th of June 1942 and with kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi

The Quaid acknowledged it on March 22, 1942:

Dear Mr. Shuaib Qureshi,

I am in receipt of your telegram as well as your letter dated the 15th of March and I note that the case has been postponed.

We shall fix up some day before the 15th of June for looking into the papers.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Perhaps the hearing took place on June 15, 1942, for Syed sent the following letter to Shuaib Qureshi on August 3, 1942:

My dear Shuaib Saheb,

Mr. Jinnah has sent you the memo of his fees and he has asked me to send you the enclosed memo of his expenses.

With respects

Yours sincerely,

The memoranda of expenses or of fee are not available.

Next letter was sent by Shuaib Qureshi from Bhopal on February 2, 1943:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The date for the hearing of the Waqf Appeal case has been fixed (21st February 1943) as suggested by you. I shall be grateful if you will kindly come on the date as you know that I am completely relying on you.

His Highness has desired me to ask you to bring Miss Jinnah also with you. I hope she would be able to come.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi

The Quaid replied from Bombay on February 6, 1943:

Dear Mr. Shuaib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd of February. I propose to leave for Bhopal on the 19th, reaching there on the morning of the 20th. Please let me have all the papers as soon as possible—the complete file including a copy of the Judgment of the lower court.

Please convey my thanks to His Highness for his very kind invitation to Miss Jinnah to accompany me. I am not sure whether she will be able to go to Bhopal or go direct to Delhi, but I shall let you know definitely at an early date.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi, advised the Quaid on February 9, 1943:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 6th Feb. 1943, which came into my hand this morning.

I had gone on a tour and returned only yesterday afternoon. I am glad you would be able to come on the date fixed for hearing of the case. I am instructing our local Counsel to send you

complete file of papers, including copy of the Judgment of the lower court.

In this connection, I should like to inform you that I was approached by Nawabzada Saiduzzafer Khan through his Secretary, Mr. Abdul Ghafoor, to have the hearing of the case postponed from the 20th February to some date in the fourth week of March as their newly engaged Counsel, Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, could not be free till then. I told him very politely but very clearly that there had been quite a number of postponements already, and the hearing of the case had dragged on long enough. Further that at my special request you had kept the date now fixed for the hearing of the case free but that it was quite possible you might not be free in the fourth week of March. In any case, I did not like the hearing of the case postponed any further. Thereupon it was proposed to me that if Nawabzada Saiduzzafer Khan approached you on his own and succeeded in winning your sympathy in his difficulty and peruading you to agree to some other date being fixed for the hearing of the case which might be equally convenient to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and yourself, I might agree to such postponement. I told them that I was not in favour of any postponement. But that they could, on their own and without any suggestion from me, discuss the matter with you and you could take any decision that suited your convenience. I thought I had better let you know the whole situation before they discuss the subject with you.

I shall convey to His Highness your message about Miss Jinnah but do hope that she would be able to come.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours sincerely,

Shuaib Qureshi

The Quaid replied from Bombay on February 12, 1943:

Dear Mr. Shuaib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, and I shall await the receipt of all the necessary papers regarding the case. Yes, I had been approached by the agents of the Nawabzada to agree to postpone the case, but I could not comply with their request as I do not know what my commitments may be or how they may develop in the 4th week of March or thereafter and it was not possible for me to agree, as it is with the greatest difficulties that I have managed to comply with your desire to attend to the case on the 21st February, having promised you at the inception when I was in full practice that I shall certainly attend to this case.

Yours sincerely,

The last letter written by the Quaid on August 22, 1943, relating to the case is addressed to Mohammad Wasim,[11] Bar-at-Law, Lucknow, in reply to his letter dated July 5, 1943 (not available):

My Dear Wasim,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th of July 1943 which evidently followed me about, as I was on my tour of Sind and Baluchistan; and immediately after the receipt of it on my arrival in Bombay, I was not able to attend to it owing to the serious incident of which you now know all about. I am now alright and seen all the papers, and I find that His Highness as the Ruler and the Government of Bhopal should not in any way mix himself with this case having regard to his position as the Head of the Government of Bhopal. The Government of Bhopal in the ordinary course through

[11] Wasim Sahib was appointed Attorney-General of Pakistan after the partition. He died on February 6, 1950, in Karachi.

the judicial channel are advised to press and establish a claim regarding the validity of the trust. If any proposal is made for compromise, it should come through the legal advisers of the defendants to the legal advisers of the plaintiffs, *viz.*, the Government of Bhopal; and finally if any compromise is arrived at, it can only be with the approval and sanction of the Government of Bhopal.

I am writing this letter to you for your guidance, but I don't think it is necessary for me to be joined in the reply and your opinion, drafts of which you have sent to me, and, therefore, I do not propose to alter or instruct you to alter or amend the proposed draft letter to Mr. Shuaib or your draft opinion.

Hoping you are well, with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

* * *

In 1942, in the wake of the Quit India movement launched by the Congress, some incidents of arson and derailment of trains occurred in Sind. The Government accused the Hurs for them and subjected them *en masse* to severe punishment. The Hurs retaliated. The Government imposed Martial Law on June 1, 1942, and arrested the Pir of Pagaro, and proceedings were started against him under Martial Law.

The Pir wrote a letter to the Quaid on January 17, 1943, requesting him to see him and conduct his defence in the case fixed for hearing for January 29, 1943. The letter is in Urdu and reads as under:

محمد علی جناح سلامت

دوست مہربان امید گاہ درویشان جناب عالیٰ بعد سلامونکے عرض
ھے برائے کرم آپ سندھ میں مجھ سے جلد آ کر ملاقات کیجیئے میرا کیس
۲۹ - جنوری کو چالو ھوگا میں آپ کی فی ھر طرح کی عدا کرنے کو

تیار هوں۔ کیس مارشلا کے کورٹ میں چلیگا اور یه کیس حیدرآباد
شہر میں چلیگا اور میں حیدرآباد شہر میں هوں۔ میں نے آپ کو مسلمانوں
کا مربی سمجھ کر یه عرض کیا هے امید هے آپ یه عرض قبول
کریں گے اور مجھ بیگناه کو براهے خدا چھڑانے کی کوشش کریں گے۔

زیاده خیر و سلام

پیر پگاڑو

Dialmal J. Lalwani, a senior and reputed lawyer of Hyderabad had been engaged by the Pir to defend him. He sent the above letter to the Quaid with the following endorsement:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have met the General.[12] He says:

"I will put no obstacles to the Pir obtaining funds for his defence from such monies as may have been deposited by him with his followers for safe custody during his absence. Should any of his followers or acquaintances wish to subscribe sums for the Pir's defence, these sums may be deposited in his name in the Imperial Bank of India, Hyderabad."

I have also sent you today an express telegram reply paid.

The case is coming on the 29th instant. You should be here on the 22nd the latest, unless that is impossible. There shall be no postponement. The Pir will pay you your fees, etc.

Yours sincerely,

Dialmal J. Lalwani

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12 Major-General Richardson commanded the units of British Indian army in Upper Sind at the time, and was the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

On January 18, 1943, Dialmal also sent the following telegram to the Quaid:

> PIR PAGARO CHARGED WITH SERIOUS OFFENCE MILITARY COURT HYDERABAD DATE TWENTYNINTH INSTANT UNCHANGEABLE STOP WANTS YOU DEFEND HIM STOP PIR SHALL PAY YOUR FEES STOP WIRE REPLY.

The Quaid replied to the telegram from Bombay on January 20, 1943:

> YOUR WIRE REGRET UNABLE ACCEPT BRIEF PIRPAGARO OWING PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS PROGRAMME ALREADY FIXED.

Dialmal again sent a telegram on January 22, 1943:

> PIR PAGARO REQUESTS YOUR PRESENCE EVEN FEW DAYS YOUR TERMS WIRE.

The Quaid in reply sent the following telegram from Bombay:

> YOUR WIRE EXTREMELY SORRY IMPOSSIBLE BREAK MY ENGAGEMENT AS ALREADY FIXED.

* * *

Shyamlal, a military contractor of Garden Road, Agra, sent a telegram to the Quaid on January 18, 1943:

> DISTRICT JUDGE FIXED SECOND FEBRUARY PLEASE INFORM IF SAME SUITS STOP

It was followed by another telegram on January 18, 1943:

> PLEASE READ TWELFTH INSTEAD TWO STOP

The Quaid replied on January 19, 1943:

> YOUR TELEGRAM IMPOSSIBLE UNDERTAKE ATTEND CASE STOP KRIPLANI WILL EXPLAIN REASONS.

This exchange of telegrams refers to a criminal matter in

which Shyamlal was accused of misappropriation of the Government money. The Quaid appeared for the Defence.

* * *

The matter in which the Quaid's written opinion is available relates to the properties of the Rajkumaris of Mahmoodabad. Their Counsel, Choudhri Akhtar Hussain, M.A., LL.B., a leading lawyer of Lucknow, brought the relevant papers to Delhi in the third week of March and discussed the matter with the Quaid. He left the file with the Quaid as per his letter dated March 23, 1943:

Respected Qaid-i-Azam,

Kindly forgive my leaving Delhi without paying my respects. I have to attend to an important case on the 25th and must leave immediately.

I am leaving the file. It contains the opinions of the lawyers and loose sheets of papers on which I have noted the various authorities relied on by Rustomji for his view expressed in his Limitation Act—IV Ed. at pp. 418, 468 and 654.

I shall write again from Lucknow and come over personally when I visit Delhi again in April.

Yours respectfully,

Akhtar Hussain

The letter bears the following notations by the Quaid:

1914—39. Madras 288 —(ILR) S. 92 T. of ppty act.
1927—Madras p. 98 (AIR)
1929—Madras 309 (AIR)

Choudhri Akhtar Hussain sent certain other documents to the Quaid on May 12, 1943:

Respected Qaid-i-Azam,

In continuation of the discussion about the claim for contribution on behalf of the Maharaj Kumar Rani of Mahmoodabad, I enclose copies of the undermentioned documents:

a. Mortgage deed executed by the Raja Saheb of Bilahra in favour of the Maharajah of Balrampur.

b. Judgment of the court in the redemption suit filed by the Raja of Bilahra.

I regret the delay in sending these copies and hope that you may be able to find them useful.

Yours respectfully

Akhtar

The Quaid sent his written opinion as per his letter dated May 25, 1943:

Dear Mr. Akhtar Husain,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th May 1943, and have looked into all the papers you were good enough to send to me and I am sending my opinion in writing. You will observe that the whole case turns on Section 95 of the Transfer of Property Act. It is for you now to consider carefully and take such action in the matter as you may be advised. I am sending the papers also back under a separate cover.

I delayed in sending you my opinion, as the case has proved to be very complicated and I had to spend a lot of time in ferreting out the chaff from the wheat. However, I have sent you my opinion for what it is worth.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

The opinion reads as under:

I have examined the papers that have been placed before me, and I gather that the position of Rajkumaris and that of Govind Ram, grandson of Hanwant Ram, is that of co-mortgagers.

Further I find from the papers that it appears that mortgage debt of Balrampur was paid by Rajkumaris as appears from the said deed dated 23rd May 1941. So it seems that the entire mortgage *of the 11th Juue 1913 has been completely paid up by the 23rd May 1941.*

The next question that arises is whether Rajkumaris are entitled to a contribution from Govind Ram and against the properties that went to his hands and are now held by him. The original mortgage was on all the properties, but subsequently it seems that some of the properties were divided and remained with the predecessors of Govind Ram subject to the mortgage, and are now held by him. But this subsequent arrangement and division of properties will not stand in the way as it has been made clear by the Privy Council cases, specially see 57, Indian Appeal, page 189; as all these properties were subject to the mortgage of 1913. See the decree of 22nd October 1923, between the parties which makes the division and arrangement subject to the mortgagee's right, *viz.*, the defendant Number 17, the Maharaja of Balrampur. Therefore, the question of the liability of Hanwant Ram and now Govind Ram his successor or the properties in his hands cannot be challenged.

The Rajkumaris having paid off the mortgage would be entitled to claim contribution from the co-mortgagee, Govind Ram, and the properties; and they have in my opinion open to them three remedies:

1. They can sue simply for reimbursement and ask for personal claim or personal decree against the co-mortgagee, but this remedy seems to me time-barred by the Law of Limitation.

2. That the Rajkumaris may sue to enforce the right of the mortgagee to follow mortgaged property by virtue of the doctrine of subrogation, under Section 92 of the Transfer of Property Act. But in this case, the period of limitation will be neither longer nor shorter as it is put in one of the cases. In other words, the bar of limitation would be available to Govind Ram to plead, which he could have done against the mortgagee, Balrampur; and if I am right, then that period of limitation will run from the date of the original mortgage or acknowledgement if any against Rajkumaris as subrogee, in which case it seems to me that the suit again would be time-barred, and in fact it has already been decided in a suit filed by the Maharaja of Balrampur against Govind Ram, grandson of Hanwant Ram by

special Judge, see judgment, 6th of July 1940. Therefore, both the remedies, namely the first claim for personal decree, and second by way of subrogation it seems to me barred by the Law of Limitation and further by the judgment of the special judge which can be pleaded as *res judicata*, and it will not be open to subrogee to challenge the judgment which would operate as *res judicata* against the subrogee. Again, even if subrogee could agitate against the question on the merits whether the claim is in fact barred by the Law of Limitation, it seems that on the merits also the claim is barred now by the Law of Limitation.

There is a third remedy that is available to the Rajkumaris; and that is that they may sue to enforce the charge arising in their favour by virtue of the payments made by them to redeem the mortgage as a whole. This charge is created by the operation of the statute, namely, section 95 of the Transfer of Property Act; and in such a case, in my opinion, time will run from the date when such payment or redemption takes place. The payments in this case were made on the 7th May 1941, and 23rd May 1941. See the case of Umar Ali *vs* Asmat Ali, 35, Calcutta Weekly Notes, page 409. *Also reported in ILR 58, Calcutta 1167.* This case in my opinion covers the present case, and it is a full bench decision; and in my judgment Rajkumaris can sue under Section 95. Taking the Sections 74, 91, 92 and 95, it seems to me that the judgment in 58, Calcutta, correctly construes Section 95. See also 33 Indian Appeals, page 81. But still one more question remains open, whether such a charge will give priority over any intermediate mortgagee or charge that may have been created by co-mortgagee or against the bonafide purchaser for value without notice. The statutory charge was created under Sections 95 and 100 of the Transfer of Property Act, namely on the 7th of May and 23rd May 1941, when payments were made. But I understand from the papers that no question of priority arises in this case. Therefore, I have come to the conclusion that the time begins to run from the dates of payments or redemption in May 1941, as the charge is created on the properties by virtue of Section 95; and the Rajkumaris are within time to enforce their claim against Govind Ram. In my opinion, therefore, article 132 of the Limitation Act will apply in this case.

I have looked into all the relevant cases referred to in 58, Calcutta; and it seems to me that the weight of the authorities is in favour of Rajkumaris and, therefore, I am led to the conclusion that the suit should be filed. Beside, the cost of this suit will not be so heavy as it was discussed in the conference with the legal representative of Rajkumaris, Choudhry Akhtar Husain, who is in charge of the case, as it seems to me that on the

facts of the case it will be only question of law; and the obstacle is the question of limitation and the judgment of the special Judge of 6th of July 1940, which could be pleaded as *res judicata,* but neither the bar of limitation, nor the plea of *res judicata* will avail, if I am right, that a statutory charge is created on payment or redemption on the 7th and 23rd May 1941 by virtue of Section 95 of the Transfer of Property Act.

The Rajkumaris accordingly decided to file a suit on the basis of the Quaid's opinion as per letter dated September 11, 1943, from Choudhri Akhtar Hussain, requesting the Quaid for sparing some more time for further consultations:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It has now been decided to file the Contribution suit on behalf of the Maharaj Kumar Rani of Mahmudabad and Rajkumari of Bilahra in respect of the mortgage debt due to the Balrampur Estates. You will kindly remember that this was the matter about which the Maharaj Kumar of Mahmudabad and myself consulted you and you were pleased to give your written opinion.

I am drafting the plaint and would like to consult you again before it is actually filed. The time when I can easily leave Lucknow would be between the 1st and the 9th of October 1943. Kindly let me know if it would be possible for you to give me some time on any of these dates. If during these days you cannot conveniently afford any time, kindly let me know when and where I can come to consult you about the draft plaint. I hope you received the telegram I sent you about your Providential escape and are now completely recovered.

With respects.

Yours sincerely,

Akhtar Hussain

The Quaid in his letter dated September 14, 1943, from Bombay agreed to see him:

Dear Mr. Akhtar Hussain,

I thank you for your letter of the 11th September 1943.

Yes, I shall be in Bombay during the first week of October and will be glad to see you. On your arrival if you will ring me up I shall fix up the time.

Thanking you for your expression of sympathies for my fortunate escape from the assault; and I am glad to tell you that I am alright.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

* * *

Some papers show that the Quaid represented the case of the All India Army Contractors Association before the Government of India. Khan Sahib S. Rashid Ahmed, Secretary of the Association, sent the following letter to the Quaid from Meerut on June 4, 1943:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please forgive the trouble I am giving you. The members of the All India Army Contractors Association are very much worried and anxious to see that their case is represented before the Hon'ble Defence Member without much delay. The letter for appointment drafted by Mr. Chundrigar which had received your kind approval is ready. We shall feel highly grateful if you would be pleased to fix the date that suits your convenience in Delhi, so that the Hon'ble Member may be approached to fix the date for the representation. It is feared that if the portfolio changes hands we might be denied the opportunity of representing our case even. The mem-

bers of the Association will esteem it a great favour if you could wire the dates convenient to you to represent their case in Delhi.

With respects and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

S. Rashid Ahmed

The Quaid was in Karachi and staying with the Haroons at the 'Seafield'. He replied to Khan Sahib on June 9, 1943:

Dear Khan Saheb S. Rashid Ahmed,

I am in receipt of your letter of 4th of June 1943, and I had a talk with Mr. Chundrigar before I left Bombay for Karachi about the end of May, and it was suggested that your case should be represented by me as your Counsel, provided you get the date and make proper arrangement for my appearance; and that can be arranged by the end of July or the beginning of August.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

I.I. Chundrigar, too, sent a telegram to the Quaid in this connection from Delhi on June 9, 1943:

CALLED BY ARMY CONTRACTORS ASSOCIATION HERE FOR FURTHER CONSULTATION AAA SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS NECESSITATE EARLY REPRESENTATION THEIR CASE BEFORE DEFENCE SECRETARY KINDLY WIRE EARLIEST DATES YOU CAN SUGGEST FOR INTERVIEW SO THAT APPOINTMENT MAY BE MADE STOP

The Quaid informed him:

YOUR TELEGRAM SHALL BE ABLE TO ATTEND YOUR CASE FIRST WEEK OF AUGUST LETTER ALREADY POSTED TO KHAN SAHEB STOP

On December 3, 1944, I.I. Chundrigar sent a cheque for Rs. 500, being the amount of the Quaid's fee from Bombay:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Probably you remember that we had a Conference on the 10th February 1943, and the 17th February 1943 for settling a draft of the representation to be submitted by the All India Army Contractors Association to the Defence Secretary, Government of India. I have received a cheque No. I.A. 00773, dated the 28th November 1944, for Rs. 500 drawn on the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, from the Treasurer, All India Army Contractors Association, for your fees.

I enclose the said cheque herewith. Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,

I.I. Chundrigar

The Quaid acknowledged the receipt of the cheque *vide* his letter dated December 12, 1944, from Delhi:

Dear Mr. Chundrigar,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 3rd, enclosing a cheque for Rs. 500 which I have duly received.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

On August 8, 1943, Rasool Khan H. Pathan, a lawyer from Baroda, wrote the following to the Quaid:

Sir,

I am addressing this letter to you on behalf of Thakore Shree Balamiyan of Lal-Mandwa. It is a Muslim *sansthan* under Baroda State. There is a

controversy going on between the Thakore Sahib and the Baroda Government about status, rights, privileges and share in certain villages.

Thakore Shree Balamiyan wants to consult you in the above matter.

I request you therefore to let me know, at your convenience, what will be your fees for:

(i) studying his case and giving your opinion whether he will succeed or not;

(ii) if your opinion is in the affirmative, whether you will be pleased to take his brief and argue his case before the Government of Baroda. This will be a presentation of memorandum to Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan Sahib of Baroda.

I shall be highly obliged if you let me know your reply at your convenience.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours most obediently,

Rasool Khan

The Quaid replied from Bombay on August 12, 1943:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th of August 1943, and beg to inform you that I shall be willing to give an opinion with regard to your case of Thakore Shree Balamiyan of Lal-Mandwa, provided all the necessary papers are sent to me through his legal adviser.

As regards my appearing or presenting a

Memorandum on his behalf to the Diwan Saheb of Baroda is a matter with regard to which I am not able to commit myself until I discuss the matter further with Thakore Saheb's legal adviser.

As regards my fees, it is not possible for me to state them unless I know the volume of work that will be required after I have received the papers; but generally in cases of this kind the Bombay practice is and that I will charge at the rate of Rs. 250 per hour and I will keep an accurate account of the amount of time that will be required to complete the work. Any how if I get the papers, I may be able to give you some rough idea as to what would be my fees before you finally entrust the work to me.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Subsequent letters pertaining to requests for briefings or legal opinion show that the Quaid declined to accept any such further engagements. All those who approached him in this regard were advised of his having given up the profession altogether.

* * *

After giving up his law practice in 1944, the Quaid disposed off the Law Reports and other reference books. Mohammad Ali Chaiwala and Company, a firm of solicitors which handled his personal matters, prepared their list on January 9, 1945, showing that the Quaid's library contained the following volumes:

I.L.R. Calcutta: 1876 to 1940	71 volumes
Bombay: 1876 to 1940	62 volumes
Madras: 1876 to 1940	61 volumes
Bengal Law Reports	15 volumes
Bombay High Court Reports	12 volumes
Madras High Court Reports	8 volumes
Bombay Law Reports, 1899-1940	42 volumes
All India Reporter, 1932-1940	64 volumes
Moore's Indian Appeals	14 volumes

Law Reports—Indian Appeals	69 volumes
English Law Reports, 1865 to 1940	565 volumes
English and Empire Digest	48 volumes
Halsbury—Laws of England	31 volumes
Sanji Rau—Indian Digest	10 volumes

N.M. Tripathi Limited, book-sellers and publishers of Bombay, were interested in purchasing them. They made an offer of Rs. 6,750 on January 23, 1945, for all the books except 42 volumes of Bombay Law Reports. The Quaid accepted the offer and sold the books to them.

Before taking delivery of the books, N.M. Tripathi Limited deputed their representatives to physically check them. They submitted a report to the Quaid on January 31, 1945, which showed that 71 volumes of Indian Law Reports were not included in the original list; while 2 volumes of Indian Appeals, one volume each of Appeals, King's Bench, Chancery and Probate Cases—all of 1940—and 2 volumes of the Statutes (1939 and 1940) were not available in the library. The All India Law Reports—Nagpur, Patna, Lahore and Rangoon, were also sold to N.M. Tripathi Limited, on February 1, 1945. They also purchased 12 large and 4 small book-shelves on February 7, 1945, for Rs. 4,500.

The remaining books on law in the library consisting of commentaries and texts were not sold.

* * *

The Quaid's savings were invested in a number of landed properties and in shares of various public limited companies and gilt-edged securities.

He purchased and constructed properties not only for his own residential purpose but also for renting out. In early twenties he had built SOUTH COURTS in Bombay where he resided. Later, he constructed a set of flats known as MAYFAIR on Little Gibbs Road and also purchased a bungalow adjoining to them. He shifted to the Little Gibbs Road bungalow where he resided till the construction of JINNAH BUNGALOW on the Mount Pleasant Road was completed. The MAYFAIR flats fetched Rs. 2,600 per month as

rent. After he shifted to JINNAH BUNGALOW in December 1939 from the Little Gibbs Road bungalow, he rented it out for Rs. 1,000 per month.

The Little Gibbs Road properties were subsequently sold on August 1, 1943.

Since he had to stay in Delhi often for long periods in connection with the organizational matters he purchased 10, Aurangzeb Road some time later in the thirties. He resided in this house till 7th August, 1947, when he came over to Karachi, having sold it earlier in July, 1947.

The Quaid also owned a house in Lahore Cantonment area. It remained in the occupation of the Punjab Government and was not vacated despite his repeated requests.

Correspondence relating to matters connected with his landed property—sales and purchase, tenancy, repairs, maintenance, taxes and rates—shows that they were handled by the Quaid with the same meticulousness and exactitude in which he dealt with all other major problems.

* * *

Complaints were made by various tenants whenever any servicing was required. E. Wilkinson who occupied one of the flats in MAYFAIR wrote that he was "having trouble with one cold-water tap in the kitchen . . . we have already had a washer put and that seems no good", and requested for its repair. The letter was incorrectly dated July 12, for it was received by the Quaid on July 10, 1941. The Quaid replied the same day:

> Dear Mr. Wilkinson,
>
> I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of July, which must be a mistake.
>
> I am not bound to attend to anything relating to the interior of the flat, as you will see from clauses 5 and 10 of the lease with my tenants, which run as follows:

"(5) The lessor hands over to the lessee all the existing electric and gas fittings and installations, as also the sanitary and cooking fittings and all fixtures in perfect order on his letting the premises; and the lessee agrees to keep these in the same good order and condition and to pay all charges for gas and electricity consumed immediately the same become due."

"(10) The lessor shall not be required to do any repairs to the said premises during the aforesaid period save and except tile-turning and dammering the roof and gutters as usual before the approach of the monsoon together with all heavy repairs, such as falling of a wall, roof or timber or any part of the house or out-houses, which work the lessee shall at all times permit to be carried out."

This will be the last time that I shall attend to this particular complaint. In future I can only proceed on the basis of these clauses 5, and 10, as I have got to consider the other tenants who will similarly expect me to do such work and which I am not bound to do.

Yours sincerely,

Another tenant, Mrs. H.C. Cowan, complained on January 5, 1942:

Sir,

Would you kindly send a plumber and an electrician along to the lower west flat of MAYFAIR. No repairs have been done for quite a while and we are very inconvenienced.

Yours truly,

Mrs. H.C. Cowan

P. S.—The Mali says he is *not* here to do any work.

Mrs. Cowan had taken the flat for only 3 months. The Quaid replying her the same day advised her that "even in long-term lease the landlord is not under any obligation to do what you require him to do". The following is the text of his letter:

Madam,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th inst. and beg to inform you that even in all the long-term leases the landlord is not under any obligation to do what you require him to do; and for your information I may quote the clauses which exist in all the leases:

"1. That the lessor has handed over the electric and sanitary fittings, fans, geyser, stove, etc., to the lessee in good working order and the lessee agrees to maintain the same in working order and condition at his expense during the continuance of the tenancy, subject always to fair wear and tear."

"2. The lessee shall keep the interior of the said flat, garage and servants-room and the doors, windows and all glass, and all fittings and fixtures thereof in tenentable repair and condition (fair wear and tear excepted)."

Whereas you have taken the flat only for three months, I regret I cannot make any exception, as I have to consider the demands that may be made by other tenants if I depart from the usual practice.

Your complaint seems to be a very small one, and I am sure you can get somebody to attend to it without any difficulty.

Yours truly,

The occupant of a flat on the ground floor of MAYFAIR, Jehangir B. Jeejeebhoy, wrote on December 29, 1942, that "the whole flushing system is out of order". He also complained about something being wrong with the gas-cooker and the water tap. The Quaid arranged for the inspection of the flat and found that the flush was not working because of the tenant's negligence. He wrote to Jeejeebhoy on January 8, 1943:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th of December and beg to inform you that your complaint about the W.C. as well as the kitchen gas-cooker is not my obligation. It is really the tenants who are responsible once they are put in possession of the flat to keep the fittings, etc., in their charge in proper order, fair wear and tear excepted. I am informed by my agent who inspected the flat that it is not the whole flushing system but only your W.CS., which are not looked after properly as they should have been, that are leaking. It is a small matter and it is not likely to cost you more than Rs. 10. I am sorry to note that you have neglected the thing so long and allowed the water to run on. I am therefore asking my contractor to do it and will request you to pay me Rs. 10, which is his estimate for putting it right. I cannot attend to these repairs as I have to deal with so many tenants; and on principle it is not possible for me to depart from this practice.

Having regard to the conditions prevailing in Bombay and as all the expenses and taxes have gone up, I beg to give you notice that I propose to increase your rent to Rs. 250 per month, which was the original rent since the very existence of the MAYFAIR building, and was fixed by my predecessor in title. I made a concession and reduced the rent at your request, but I find it is no longer possible for me to continue this arrangement.

Please let me know, as soon as possible, whether you are prepared to pay Rs. 250 per month from the 1st of February 1943.

Yours faithfully,

Jeejeebhoy conveyed his consent to increase the rent to Rs. 250 in his letter of January 13, 1943. But later, on January 28, 1943, he advised the Quaid of his intention to vacate the flat:

Dear Sir,

I was intending to give you notice that I would vacate the flat in MAYFAIR occupied by me at present. But I understand from Messrs. Gillbert Lodge & Company that they have a client who wishes to rent this flat from 1st February 1943 if you are agreeable to let it to him.

I am prepared to give vacant possession of the flat at the end of this month if you decide to take up Gillbert Lodge & Company's client as your tenant from 1st February 1943.

Yours faithfully,

Jehangir B. Jeejeebhoy

The Quaid accepted the arrangement. However, while replying to Jeejeebhoy, he reminded him to send the amount of Rs. 10 which was spent on the repairs of the W.C.:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th instant and thank you for it. I agree to the arrangement referred to in your letter.

May I request you to let me have sum of Rs. 10 which I have to pay my contractor for carrying out the petty repairs, which you agreed

was your obligation and promised to send me the amount.

Yours faithfully,

Jeejeebhoy sent Rs. 10 on February 5, 1943.

* * *

Requests for reducing the rent were quite frequent. A tenant, S.L.T. White of Burmah-Shell, did not allow the painters to paint the doors and windows of the flat which was occupied by him. The Quaid enquired from him on January 6, 1941, the reason for it:

Dear Mr. White,

I understand that you do not wish anything to be done to your flat doors and windows as other parts of the building are being done.

Please do not blame me afterwards, as I understand you do not allow the workmen to do the work.

Yours sincerely,

In reply Mr. White wrote on January 13, 1941, asking for reduction in the rent:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write with reference to the painting of the verandah of my flat.

I am afraid that it is not possible for the doors and windows in the lounge to be painted white or cream, as the painter suggested, unless the whole lounge is colour-washed at the same time or the colour scheme would be quite unbalanced.

The question is however bound up with my return to Bombay in September after my short leave. The difficulty is that in today's conditions I am not

really in a position to take a flat of which the rent greatly exceeds Rs. 200 per month. If you would agree to reduce my rent I could probably sub-let for my leave and then resume my tenancy after my return from leave. In that event it would be worthwhile suffering the inconvenience of having the lounge painted. Otherwise I think it preferable from both our point of view to defer the work until my tenancy is over.

Yours sincerely,

The Quaid did not agree to reduce the rent and wrote on January 15, 1941:

Dear Mr. White,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and beg to inform you that I do not see my way to reduce the rent of the flat which you are occupying. In these circumstances it is for you to decide what you should do.

I gather that you do not want anything to be done to your flat by the painters.

Yours sincerely

* * *

Mrs. Hormarji had taken the Little Gibbs Road Bungalow on rent from November 15, 1940, for the period ending March 15, 1941. On March 18, 1941, she requested the Quaid to let her continue to occupy it till the end of April. The Quaid agreed and wrote to her on March 21, 1941, from Delhi:

Dear Madam,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th of March and I am willing to let you have the house for the month of April. It is understood that I shall be free to let it from the 1st of May and that if I succeed in having a tenant by the 1st of May you

will deliver up the possession by the end of April 1941.

Please confirm.

Yours faithfully,

Meanwhile, Mrs. Hormarji purchased a few things for the bungalow and sent the bill to the Quaid. The Quaid refused to make the payment and wrote to her on April 8, 1941:

Madam,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th inst. along with the bill of Messrs. Hakemchand & Co. for supplying you with various requirements of yours and beg to inform you that I am not liable to pay the bill as when you took possession of the property, everything was put in order by my agent and those bills I have already paid.

Yours faithfully,

P.S.—I am returning the bill herewith.

In July 1941, the Quaid received a water tax bill for Rs. 124/14/- for the period of six months. The share of Mrs. Hormarji came to Rs. 107/15/-, which the Quaid requested her to pay:

Dear Madam,

The water tax bill that is now presented to me for Rs. 124/14/- for the period of 6 months—October 1940 to March 1941—and as you were under monthly tenancy in occupation of the bungalow at Little Gibbs Road and liable to pay the water tax for the period from 15th November 1940 to the 31st of March 1941, the amount payable from you comes to Rs. 107/15/-, deducting the amount for the period 1st of October 1940 to the 15th of November 1940, which is Rs. 16/15, for which I am liable.

If you desire to inspect the original bill paid by

me I shall forward it to you. I shall also present to you the bill for the month of April during which also you continued to be in occupation of the bungalow, as and when I receive the next bill. Please therefore let me have your cheque for Rs. 107/15/- and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

Mrs. Hormarji sent the amount on July 28, 1941, but requested that as the premises were vacated by her in middle of April, and the rent was duly paid for the full month, she ought to be given some concession. The Quaid on August 20, 1941, advised her that he could not agree to her request as the bungalow was at her disposal till the end of April 1941:

Madam,

I am in receipt of yours of the 28th of July and a cheque for 107/15/-, being the amount of water tax payable by you from the 15th of November 1940 to the 31st of March 1941.

As regards the month of April I shall send you the memo showing the amount payable by you; but I regret I cannot agree with you that you are liable to pay only till the middle of April 1941 when you vacated the premises.

The bungalow was at your disposal till the end of April 1941.

Yours faithfully,

Another bill for water tax was received from the Municipal Corporation, and Rs. 24 were payable by Mrs. Hormarji. The Quaid requested her on January 23, 1942, to pay the amount:

Madam,

I have paid the Municipal water tax bill from the 1st of April 1941 to September 1941, and as

you were in occupation of the bungalow for the month of April 1941, your share comes to Rs. 24. I shall feel obliged if you let me have the amount as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,

It is not known whether she paid the amount or not.

* * *

The Quaid decided to sell the bungalow and the flats situated on Little Gibbs Road in 1943. Before the sale was effected, some correspondence took place between a firm of brokers—Star House Agency—and the Quaid. Informing the Quaid of a prospective purchaser the Agency wrote on May 10, 1943:

Dear Sir,

With reference to our conversation regarding the two properties situated at Little Gibbs Road, we have the pleasure in informing you that we have given inspection yesterday to the prospective purchaser and have returned the plan which was given to the undersigned on Saturday. While going through the plan we were surprised to find that the area of the land is 7,044 and not 9,200 as mentioned by you. We have given the particulars to the prospective purchaser and have told him that the rent for the building is Rs. 2,600 and the rent for the bungalow is Rs. 1,100 per month. Our client is seriously inclined to go in for it if the price is reasonable.

We shall be glad therefore if you will please let us know the lowest price for both the properties. It is agreed that you shall pay us a brokerage at the rate of 2 per cent as usual if and when the sale is completed.

Yours very truly,
for The Star House Agency
(J.D. Amrolia)
Proprietor

The Quaid replied to them on May 11, 1943, clarifying the misunderstanding about the area:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th of May. I am afraid your surprise was due to the fact that you misunderstood me. These two properties were held by different owners, but now they are held by me as a single owner; and when I said that the area was 9,200 I meant the area of the land of both the properties, and if you add to this the restricted portion and the private road, the total area comes to 10,004. Therefore my statement was quite correct. However, you know the exact area now and there is no question of separate ownership of the two properties, and therefore no further question arises with regard to the restricted portion. I have already quoted to you the minimum figure for the sale of these properties during our conversation, and that is the nett amount of rupees ten lakhs.

With regard to your brokerage, cost of sale, conveyance and stamps, it must be borne by the purchaser. In other words, all the costs and brokerage must be borne by the purchaser and the figure that I have quoted is the nett figure. Otherwise it must be added to the figure quoted by me as the sale price; and if your client is willing and serious please let me know.

This offer will remain open for twenty-four hours and I shall not be bound by it any more unless accepted within this time, *viz.*, on or before the 13th of May 1943.

Yours faithfully,

The properties were ultimately sold to Shapurji Pallonji Mistry and another. The sale deed was registered on August 8, 1943. Before its registration, in a letter dated July 13, 1943,

the Quaid's solicitors, Mohammad Ali and Co, requested him for certain clarifications:

Dear Sir,

In the above matter we have recently received the requisitions from the purchasers' attorneys on your title to the above properties and we are answering the same.

One of the requisitions is for production of the agreement dated 14th September 1932 between Amiruddin Salehbhoy Tyabji and Ardeshir Kursetji Wadia. The said agreement is not among the title deeds sent to us. We however find from our records that, as required by you, the said agreement was sent to you along with copy conveyance dated 31st March 1937 from Ardeshir Kursetji Wadia and ors. to youself and a copy of the plan attached to the said conveyance on the 7th of April 1937. Kindly therefore send the said agreement, which must be lying in your papers, to enable us to produce the same to the purchasers' attorneys.

We have also to request you to please let us know whether any notice from the Municipality or any other public body has been received by you since your last letter to us. If so, please send us the same.

In your last letter you informed us that the insurance policies of the properties had expired. We should like to know whether the same have been renewed by you, and if so, to send us the renewed policies to enable us to apportion the insurance premia with the purchaser on completion of the matter.

We have also to request you to let us know whether any riot tax bill has been received by you and remains unpaid in connection with the above properties. If so, please get the same paid and send

the paid-up bill to us to enable us to produce the same to the purchasers.

We have further to request you to send us the current paid-up Municipal bills of the properties, *viz.*, from April 1943 to September 1943 if the same are now paid to enable us to apportion the same with the purchasers on completion. If the bills are not paid the proportionate amount up to the day of completion will have to be paid by you.

Kindly send us the information required at an early date so that the requisitions may be duly answered.

Yours truly,

Mahomed Ali & Co.

The Quaid replied on July 25, 1943:

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th July; and owing to my absence from Bombay, I was not able to attend to it earlier; but I have had an interview with your Mr. Chaiwala on Friday, the 23rd of July and beg to inform you that the agreement along with copy conveyance dated 31st March 1937 from Ardeshir Kursetji Wadia and ors. to me and a copy of the plan attached to the said conveyance was handed over to him by me personally in the course of the interview.

With regard to the remaining information that you require, I beg to state that no notice from the Municipality or any other public body has been received by me since my last letter addressed to you.

The property is not insured and no question of apportionment with regard to the insurance premia, therefore, arises.

As regards the current paid-up Municipal bills of the property from April 1943 to September 1943, the same had already been paid; and these bills were sent to you along with my previous letters and I was informed by your Mr. Chaiwala that you have already received them. The proportionate amount of these bills will have to be paid by the purchaser.

I have given you all the information that you require, please now expedite the execution of the conveyance as I shall be in Bombay only for a week at the most.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

In the case of the Lahore Cantonment property, the Quaid wrote a letter on September 15, 1944, from Bombay to the Assessing Authority, Rating Area, Lahore Cantonment, on receipt of their notice which is not available, protesting against assessment of tax at the new rate. The copy of the letter bears corrections and additions in his own hand. Its facsimile is reproduced:

Registered.

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY.

15th September, 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have received your notice dated 23rd July 1944 for the assessment year 1944-45, informing me that the sum of Rs.441/- has been determined to be payable by me as property tax for the property specified overleaf. This notice was addressed C/o the Secretary, Muslim League, Lahore, and it reached me only yesterday.

No notice was given to me of this assessment ~~having~~ before ~~been~~ it was determined. Am I to understand that this is a new assessment that has been decided upon ex-parte, as the last assessment and the payment that I made, for which I hold a receipt dated 11th of

May 1944, for the period 10th of October 1943 to 31st of March 1944 was a sum of Rs.153/- for the half year. In the circumstances, I would like to know the reasons and grounds for this increase, and would like to be allowed to plead my case that the assessment should not be increased. *Besides this property in question has been requisitioned by the Punjab Govt. under S 75A of the Defence of India Rules and possession was taken accordingly in January 44.*

Yours faithfully,

The Assessing Authority,
Rating Area, Lahore Cantonment,
LAHORE.

No other letter on the subject of taxes is available. Other letters relate to the question of requisition. He wrote to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot on March 25, 1945. Nawab Sahib had the reputation of not replying to letters. The Quaid, after expressing the hope that Nawab Saheb would make an exception in this case, requested him to arrange with Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, Advocate, to visit Delhi for discussing the matter relating to the requisition of the house.

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am sorry I was laid up and could not see you when you came to Delhi. I am much better now, but it will not be possible for me to stand the strain of the All India Muslim League Sessions. You know I have had several breakdowns in the course of this year, but this one is a very serious warning and it cannot be ignored. My doctors' orders are strictly to have complete rest for some time to come. You do not know how sorry I feel, how deeply disappointed I am, that I have been unfortunately struck down.

There are one or two matters with regard to the house that I have bought in Lahore. As some time ago the Punjab Government have requisitioned it, I am very anxious to contact a lawyer. I wonder whether you can make arrangements for Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin to come to Delhi any day that will be convenient to him so that I can give him instructions

to proceed in the matter and also one or two matters concerning the land that was bought by me. I hope that you will acknowledge this letter without delay; and although you don't reply as a rule, I do hope you will make an exception in this case and oblige me because the matter is very urgent and important.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Nawab Saheb replied on April 4, 1945:

My dear Qaid-e-Azam,

Many thanks for your letter of March 25, 1945, which I received on my return from tour. We have all been praying for your recovery, and you might have learnt that the Punjab Muslim League had fixed a day for this very purpose and that it was observed all over the province. I am very glad to learn that you have completely recovered.

I have spoken to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-din Khan. At present he is engaged in a Sessions case at Sheikhupura. He said that he would be free after the 12th and that he would try and go to Delhi and see you for instructions regarding the house and the land. I think I shall also be there in connection with the meeting of the Committee of Action.

Kindly give my salaams to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,

Iftikhar Hussain Khan

Meanwhile, Mian Bashir Ahmad, a member of the Working Committee of the League visited Delhi. The Quaid discussed the matter with him and requested him to see Malik Barkat Ali and consult him about the Defence of India Rules under which the house was requisitioned by the Punjab Government. Mian

Bashir Ahmed met Malik Barkat Ali on April 11, 1945, and wrote to the Quaid:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I reached Lahore yesterday and went straight to Malik Barkat Ali and consulted him about the Defence of India Rules, about which you had a talk with me.

He told me that the best and latest book on the subject was "Defence of India Act [xxxv of 1939—and the Rules made thereunder]" published by the Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras, 1944.

Accordilgy I secured the book and sent it to you yesterday by registered post. I hope you have received it by now.

Malik Sahib will himself reply to you regarding the matters mentioned by you in the little note which I handed over to him. I understood from him that there were no separate Provincial rules.

Then I went to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, advocate, but found that he was out of Lahore. In the evening I telephoned to him. He said he was sorry he could not come to Delhi. When your second message was received in Lahore, he was not in town. He said he would do everything he could when he got the relevant papers from you.

This morning I saw Nawab of Mamdot and talked the matter over with him. He said that when he received the papers from you, he would consult Maulvi Sahib and Malik Sahib, and do what was required. So kindly send him the papers and give him the necessary instructions.

The people are reassured after reading your message in the papers today.

May God restore you to perfect health and strength.

With respectful regards from all of us.

Yours sincerely,

Bashir Ahmed

The Quaid acknowleaged the receipt of Mian Bashir Ahmed's letter on April 25, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th April, and I was not able to attend to it earlier as, you know, I have had to make arrangements for moving to Matheran, and was not able, therefore, to attend to this matter before now.

Many thanks for sending me the book. I have not heard anything from Malik Sahib, but I have heard from Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din and will get in touch with him.

I am glad to inform you that I am very much better now and hope to be quite all right very soon. All I need is complete rest for some time.

With very kind regards to all of you,

Yours sincerely,

Mian Bashir Ahmed wrote to the Quaid again on May 3, 1945, reporting that Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din was awaiting his instructions:

My Dear Qaid i Azam,

I was delighted to receive your very kind letter of 25th April from Matheran, and to know that, by the grace of God, you were improving satisfactorily

in health. Everyone here is satisfied and happy to know that you are well.

Regarding the matter about which you talked to me at New Delhi, I understand from Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din that he wrote to you and is now awaiting instructions. He will consult with Malik Barkat Ali in due course. Malik Sahib says he will be pleased to offer his advice to Maulvi Sahib. He is also writing to you.

My wife and I send you and Miss Jinnah our kindest regard.

My children join with me in offering you our best and most respectful wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Bashir Ahmad

P.S.—We have taken a house in Srinagar and hope to leave Lahore in the end of May.

On May 7, 1945, the Quaid advised Mian Bashir Ahmad that he was in contact with Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din:

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of 3rd May, 1945. I have already communicated to Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin and I shall await the result and I expect to hear from him very soon.

Many thanks for your good wishes and I hope that you will have a nice holiday at Srinagar.

With our best salaams to all of you.

Yours sincerely,

Malik Barkat Ali, too, wrote to the Quaid on May 4, 1945:

Dear Qaid-i-Aazam,

I must apologise to you in the first instance for the long delay that has occurred in acknowledging your kind note dated the 6th of April, 1945, sent to me by hand of Mian Bashir Ahmad. I do not know whether you are aware of the severe afflictions that befell me: (i) the death of my elder brother on the 24th of January, 1945; and (ii) the death of my wife on the 25th of March, 1945. These two calamities considerably upset me and I have not yet been able to regain my peace of mind.

When Mian Bashir Ahmad saw me I at once supplied him with the Defence of India Rules on the subject of requisitioning of property as contained in Rule 75-A, and told him that there were no separate Provincial rules in this connection. I also told him that I would be writing to you also. In the meantime, I read of your intended move to Matheran (Bombay) and I thought that I would be acknowledging your kind letter after you had reached Matheran. I am therefore writing this letter to inform you that excepting Rule 75-A, there is no Provincial legislation on the subject. I am at your full disposal and will only be delighted to have an opportunity of serving you. I was making enquiries about your address at Matheran and I have just been told that it is Readymoney Lodge, Matheran, Bombay. I am accordingly sending this letter in acknowledgment of your kind pencil note dated the 6th of April, 1945. The information that you called for by means of this note was given by me immediately to Mian Bashir Ahmad, and I then felt that I would be acknowledging your letter later. With all good wishes and praying that you may enjoy perfect rest and the best of health,

Yours sincerely,

M. Barkat Ali

The Quaid replied to Malik Barkat Ali on May 11, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of 4th May, and thank you for it. I was extremely sorry indeed to hear of the death of your elder brother and also your wife. Please accept my sincerest sympathies in your bereavement. I can quite understand the effect of such terrible blows on you, that you must bear up with fortitude and courage.

I quite understand your not being able to reply to my note earlier and I have received from Mian Bashir Ahmad the Defence of India Rules. You will observe from the letter I have written to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-din, that an arbitrator was appointed and there are some local rules according to which the arbitrator is entitled to proceed. I have given in my letter to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-din a summary of what has taken place upto the present moment and I have asked him to see you and let me know what should be done by us now.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,

The Quaid then received a letter dated May 12, 1945, from the District Magistrate, Lahore. The contents reveal that proceedings relating to the requisition of the property (Bungalow No. 53, Lahore Cantonment) and determining compensation for it were being delayed for various reasons. The letter reads:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Would you please refer to your D.O. letter dated the 3rd May 1945 regarding the requisition of Bungalow No. 53, Lahore Cantt.

I very much regret the delay in the disposal

of your case, but to a great extent it has been due to circumstances beyond my control. In their notification dated the 17th August 1944, of which a copy has already been sent to you, the Punjab Government appointed Mr. G.D. Khosla, I.C.S., District & Sessions Judge, Lahore, as an arbitrator to determine the amount of compensation payable to the owner of the property named above. Shortly after the publication of the notification, Mr. Khosla proceeded on leave from 2-9-44 to 10-10-44, and after twenty days was appointed as a Judge of the Lahore High Court with effect from the 1st November 1945. The vacancy in the post of the District and Sessions Judge, Lahore, was temporarily filled by Mr. S.N. Haksar I.C.S., who was subsquently relieved by Mr. S.A. Rahman, I.C.S., the permanent District and Sessions Judge of Lahore on the 1st February 1945. I am asking the Punjab Government for very early notification of the appointment of Mr. Rahman as an arbitrator in this case in place of Mr. Khosla and shall let you know as soon as I hear from the Home Secretary to Government Punjab in this connection. I am also asking the Home Secretary to supply you with the Punjab Land Acquisition (Defence of India Rules), as I have no copy in stock with me.

Yours sincerely,

The Quaid sent a copy of the letter to Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan, Advocate, Lahore, and requested him to pursue the matter. He replied on May 23, 1945:

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

My wife had an attack of paralysis which upset me very much, and so I could not answer your letter earlier for which I am really sorry.

I saw Mr. Williams personally. He told me that he had already written to you explaining the

position, *i.e.*, that Mr. Khosla having gone to the High Court, Mr. Rahman, District Judge, Lahore, will now act as arbitrator.

After that I saw Mr. Rahman personally. He did not seem to know anything of the case. His Clerk of Court also said that so far as he knew, there was no such case pending in their office, but he will make full enquiries and will let me know of it later on.

Now you need not worry about it; as soon as the Clerk of Court informs me that he has got hold of the file, I will arrange for inspection of the record and will send you a copy of it. At the same time, I will put in an application that the case be expedited. I, myself, will conduct it and shall keep you in touch.

Thank God, you are keeping quite fit and this has given real pleasure to everyone of us.

May God keep you fit and strong enough to carry on the work He has ordained you to accomplish. *Amin*.

Yours sincerely,

Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din

Subsequently, Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din Khan discussed the matter personally with the Quaid; and on August 1, 1945, the Quaid sent to him copies of the lease, conveyance deed, and the plan of the bungalow:

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din,

As requested by you, I am sending you a copy of the lease and the conveyance and a tracing of the plan of the bungalow, servants' quarters, kitchen, etc. Since then, the occupants of the bungalow have made certain alterations to the kitchen and some structure has been put up. As I explained to you in our talk recently, they have also put up a

bar in the verandah, and these are all matters which you will examine and take into consideration. Please let me know the progress you make with the arbitrator.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

What ultimately happened in the matter is not known.

* * *

The Quaid was inclined to sell JINNAH BUNGALOW, too. Enquiries were made in 1943, and the Dowager Rani of Baroda showed her interest in its purchase; but the deal could not be struck. In October 1946, a grandson of Sir Adamji Peerbhoy wrote to the Quaid on the subject. His letter dated October 31, 1946, reads:

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

As-salamo-alykum.

With all love to you as our great leader, I can do nothing but thank you on behalf of my children and myself for your able guidance to we Musalmans and thus saving us from a guaranteed Hindu tyranny. We pray before Allah to give you all strength to put us thru these dark days.

Quaid, I have a request to make to you, which I hope you will certainly consider, without taking into consideration of its monetary side.

Just to give you a little introduction of mine, it is necessary that I must remind you of your very happy connections in the past with Sir Adamji Peerbhoy's family. I am his grandson. This family you know it very well stands more or less as a ruined one at present except the old lady, Lady Adamjee Peerbhoy, who is a bit better off than the rest. She about a couple of days back got a wind from some brokers that you are thinking of selling away your

present palacial bangalow at 10, Mount Pleasant Road. Sincerely I hope that this is not correct, but if it is so, please let me know the reasonable price for the same.

Quaid, you do remember that she long before you bought this bungalow from my uncle, used to stay here with late Adamjee Peerbhoy and hence she has a sentimental attachment to this house. I overheard her speaking to my uncle to see you in person and just make an enquiry of this, but unfortunately on account of his illness I do not think that he will be in the position to see you and so I thought to take up this affair myself and inform you about it. With a desire to give her a surprise, I am writing this to you and get a clue from you. I am extremely sorry to tax you a little more worry about this, when we definitely know that you have no time to look after such petty affairs. I have a duty to be fulfilled as her grandson, and so I give you this trouble.

Please do reply this letter favourably at earliest. Thanking you, wishing you best of love and fine health.

Yours very sincerly,

A. Hussain

The Quaid replied on November 11, 1946:

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of the 31st October and I am inclined to sell my bungalow provided I get a proper price for it. You can enquire for particulars from Mr. M.A. Chaiwala of Mohamedali & Co., Solicitors, 15, Military Square Lane, Fort, Bombay.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

The household of the Quaid comprised roughly of the following staff:

2 butlers
2 khidmatgars
1 ayah
2 cooks
3 to 4 hammals
2 drivers
2 chowkidars
3 to 4 malies

In 1944, the pay bill of the servants at 10, Aurangzeb Road, Delhi, amounted to Rs. 140 per month, and that of JINNAH BUNGALOW in Bombay Rs. 187 per month. In 1946, the pay bill amounted to Rs. 180 in the case of Delhi residence, and Rs. 304 in the case of his Bombay residence.

* * *

During his intermittent absence from Bombay and Delhi, Chaiwala made payments to the JINNAH BUNGALOW servants, and I used to disburse the salaries of the servants at 10, Aurangzeb Road. The Quaid was particular that we should disburse correct amounts. For example, while instructing Chaiwala on October 29, 1946, to make payments to the servants, the Quaid sent a memo showing the names and amounts payable as well as remarks indicating as to who was on leave and when a servant joined his staff:

1.	Dhaya — Butler	50-0-0
2.	Naimatullah — Pathan	45-0-0
3.	Makhmudullah — Pathan	35-0-0 or 40
4.	°Dhanji — Hammal	35-0-0
5.	Ganpat — Hammal	45-0-0
6.	Makkhan—Hammal	30-0-0
7.	Tukaram — Mali	35-0-0
8.	2nd Mali	30-0-0
9.	Mahtrani	5-0-0

°Dhanji Hammal was on leave for one week without pay. Please find out whether he has returned or not.

Pathan Makhmudullah was employed from the 7th September 1946.

In another case, the Quaid remitted Rs. 160 for disbursement of salaries. The bill, however, totalled Rs. 165 for the month. I wrote to him on October 18, 1945, about it:

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of you letter together with a cheque of Rs. 160 on account of pay of your Kothi servants for September 1945. The cheque for the pay of August 1945 was also for Rs. 160, while the salaries of your Kothi servants actually amount to Rs. 165 P.M. as per details given below:

		Rs.	As.	P.
1.	Ali Akbar	50	0	0
2.	Kallu Singh	35	0	0
3.	1 Sweeper	30	0	0
4.	Coolie Mali	25	0	0
5.	Coolie Mali	25	0	0
		Rs. 165	0	0

I have been to your Kothi and there is all O.K.

With best respects.

Yours obediently,

S. Shamsul Hasan

He made up the shortfall and wrote to me on November 3, 1945:

Dear Mr. Shamsul Hasan,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 18th October, and I am sorry that there was a mistake in the cheque for the months of August and September 1945. I had to send the cheque from memory, and now I make up the amount which you say was less by

Rs. 5/- each month, namely, a total of Rs. 10 for August and September. I am sending Rs. 165 for October, making in all Rs. 175 in one cheque, which I enclose herewith.

I am glad to learn that my house is in order. I hope, if possible, to stay in Delhi for a couple of days before going to the Frontier. As at present arranged, I have to reach Peshawar on the morning of November 20th. I will let you know a few days before whether I am making a halt at Delhi.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The Quaid, whenever out of Bombay or Delhi, wanted to be kept regularly posted as to how his residences and property were being looked after. In the summer of 1944, he intended to proceed to Kashmir for a while for rest. Before leaving for Kashmir, he wrote to Chaiwala on May 4, 1944, from Mamdot Villa, Lahore:

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

This is just to inform you that at present I am in Lahore, and I am not likely to return to Bombay for some time, and if possible, I may go to Kashmir for a little while. In the meantime I hope that you will continue to pay the salaries of the servants at my bungalow, and whenever you can find time you might look in there. I hope all my servants are there and the house is in order. This change of programme has been unavoidable, otherwise I would have been in Bombay long ago.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Chaiwala replied on May 9, 1944, assuring him that whenever he went to Malabar Hill side, he dropped at his bungalow:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of 9th instant yesterday, and as desired therein I have paid the salaries of the servants of your bungalow. I wrote to you a letter on 2nd of May, which seems to have crossed your letter, to which I am expecting a reply at your early convenience. Whenever I go towards Malabar Hill side or Wellingdon Club I drop in at your bungalow on a surprise visit and get the bungalow opened and go round all the rooms to see that they are properly cleaned and dusted and kept in proper order and I keep a watch also on the servants who are all there.

I have received your telegram of 8th instant today as follows:

> "Please give particulars inspection my property Zainyar Jung Nizams Agent will negotiate myself."

Upon receipt of the telegram I phoned to Nizam's Palace in Bombay but was informed that Zainyar Jung has not arrived at Bombay but still is at Hyderabad. So I will wait his arrival and do the needful as required by you.

With best compliments,

Your sincerely,

Mohamed Ali Chaiwala

Meanwhile, the Quaid left for Srinagar and stayed at Kooshik, near Nishat. He requested Chaiwala on May 19, 1944, to send to him some mangoes from his garden:

Dear Mr. Chaiwala

I am in receipt of your letter of May 9th, and I

have already replied to your letter of May 2nd, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith.

I am very glad to hear that you occasionally go and visit my house and that everything is in order. You will observe from my above address that I am here now in Kashmir, as I need very badly some rest. So, for the present I want to take advantage of it, as I may not get another opportunity for a long time.

I have noted that you have received my telegram with regard to the Nizam's enquiry.

I believe that the mangoes in the garden of my Mount Pleasant Road house must be ready or will be soon ready. If so, please do instruct my servants to send them to me by parcel to Srinagar.

Yours sincerely,

Mangoes from the Mount Pleasant Road residence were not in a condition to be sent to Srinagar. Chaiwala, therefore, sent a parcel of mangoes purchased from the market, advising the Quaid about their despatch on May 31, 1944. He also informed him about the cook who wanted to be relieved:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of the 19th Inst. on the 24th Idem.

Before that I had written to you a letter on the 22nd May instant which you must have received by this time. I sent for your cook when he told me that he was not keeping well and his son died a week ago and his uncle died about two or three days back and further that his wife was ill lying in hospital and, therefore, he desired to go to his native place Bangalore. In your letter of the 19th Inst., you desired that I should relieve him from service in any case. I have dispensed with his services and paid him Rs. 50/- for 25 days as desired by him.

As regards mangoes in your garden, the crop of mangoes in this season is very very poor and none suitable were available for being despatched to you bv parcel to Srinagar. About 40 mangoes were taken down about 20 days ago and were left with me at my office, but as I had not your particular address I did not despatch the same to you but allowed the same to remain with me. As they grew ripe we enjoyed the same. This time the crop of mangoes throughout the Presidency is very poor and hardly 10 per cent of the usual. No more mangoes are available from your garden. However, I have this day bought a parcel of Alphanso mangoes from the market and despatched to your address at Srinagar which I hope you will find in good condition.

With best compliments.

Yours sincerely,

Mohammed Ali Chaiwala

P.S.—Your Pathan is leaving today giving another substitute.

The Quaid acknowledged the receipt of mangoes and replied on June 12, 1944:

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

I have received your letter dated 31st May, and I note that my cook has been released from service as he desired. As regards the mangoes, I am glad to say that they reached here in very good condition, and I thank you for the parcel.

I have received a communication from the Inspector of Lifts, which I am enclosing herewith, and shall be much obliged if you will attend to this matter.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The Quaid did not like delay. Towards the end of December 1944, while leaving for Bombay, he gave me instructions for payment of taxes and for obtaining coupons for petrol. I complied with them but did not report back. He was rather piqued and wrote to me on January 25, 1945:

Dear Mr. Shamsul Hasan,

I hope you have not forgotten the instructions I left with you before my departure from Delhi.

First, I left with you the registration book of my car, which had to be renewed from the 1st of January 1945, and I hope that you have done it.

Second, you have to apply for petrol coupons from the 1st of February, which I trust you will be able to do on my behalf by filling in the necessary forms. Of course, this is apart from the extra petrol that I shall get from the Assembly Department as a Member of the Central Assembly.

Yours sincerely,

Meanwhile, Lobo wrote to me for making arrangements for his and Khurshid's stay. When in Delhi the secretarial staff of the Quaid, which usually consisted of two, stayed in the rooms available in the League Office. At the time, because of expansion in the staff of the MANSHOOR, the space had become insufficient. I accordingly advised Lobo that it would not be possible to make arrangements for their stay in the premises. Lobo showed the letter to the Quaid. He took up the matter and wrote to me on January 29, 1945:

Dear Mr. Shamsul Hasan,

I have been shown your letter to Mr. Lobo, informing him that owing to the increased staff of the Daily MANSHOOR, there is no accommodation available for them in the premises of the League Office, but as I now understand that Mr. Lobo and Mr. Khurshid

Hasan are willing to pay a reasonable rent for accommodation either in the League Office or elsewhere, I hope that you will make every endeavour to secure some accommodation for them, preferably as near to New Delhi as may be possible. You are on the spot, and I think you should be able to succeed in getting some decent accommodation for them at a reasonable rent, for which I have made an extra allowance for both of them. Please let me know without delay, as arrangements will have to be made very soon.

Yours sincerely,

To the Quaid's letter of January 25, I replied on January 30, 1945:

Qaid-e-Azam,

Your instructions could never be forgotten and I have complied with them accordingly.

The registration book of your car was renewed on the 5th of January, 45. I have also applied for the petrol coupons and expect them very shortly.

I congratulate you for the unique exposition of the Pakistan proposition at Ahmedabad—each time infusing enthusiasm afresh in the Muslims.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib has had a brisk tour of the South-India and will be returning to Delhi by the 5th of February.

I have been to your Kothi again and have given the servants necessary instructions.

I hope you will kindly intimate me with your arrival time in Delhi.

With best regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours obediently,

S. Shamsul Hasan

The other letter was replied on February 1, 1945:

Quaid-e-Azam,

In continuation of my last letter I beg to inform you that I have with much exertion succeeded in obtaining the petrol coupons — as the fellows insisted upon the licencee's original signature.

As regards your kind letter which is just to hand regarding the arrangement of accommodation for Messrs. Lobo and Khurshid, I beg to state that I have been trying my utmost since Mr. Lobo wrote to me, and your letter has just manifolded my anxiety.

I am, however, not disappointed and hope that I shall be able to get some accommodation by the time the gentlemen reach Delhi.

With respects.

Yours sincerely,

S. Shamsul Hasan

The Quaid was reassured, as his letter dated February 3, 1945, shows:

Dear Mr. Shamsul Hasan,

Thank you for your letter of January 30th. I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 140/- for the servants' salaries at Delhi for the month of December 1944.

My getting to Delhi has been upset as I have not been well, and as soon as I am better I shall be in a position to decide the date of my departure to Delhi. I will let you know in advance.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The Quaid allowed his servants complete run of the bungalows. In May 1946, Chaiwala allowed Jogi Lal, a bulter, to proceed on leave after taking over the keys, and wrote to Miss Jinnah about the arrangements. She confirmed them. After his return from leave, Chaiwala handed over the keys back to him. Meanwhile, a hammal, Ganpat, died. In the letter to Miss Jinnah, of May 24, 1946, reporting about the resumption of duty by Jogi Lal, Chaiwala mentioned about the death of the hammal:

Dear Miss Jinnah,

I received your letter of 7th of May instant.

Your butler Jogi Lal returned to Bombay and resumed service on 10th May instant. The two keys of the sideboard drawer in which silver articles are lying and the bunch of keys of the bungalow have been returned to him.

Your hammal Ganpat Laxman who was lying ill for some time had to be removed to Maharatta General Hospital as he became seriously ill, where he died day before yesterday. Now the work is solely done by the other hammal, Chhagan Dayan.

I received a letter dated 12th May from Mr. Jinnah informing me about leakage in the pipes in the garden. I went to see the same and found that six hydrants in the garden were leaking and the ground surrounding the hydrants was very wet. The same has been inspected by well known plumbers, Pallonjee Eduljee and Son, and they have sent to me an estimate of the work to be done. A copy of the said estimate is sent herewith.

On hearing from you whether the work is to be entrusted to them or not I shall do the needful in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

Mohammed Ali Chaiwala

The letter was received by Miss Jinnah at Simla where the Quaid was busy in parleys with the Cabinet Mission; but despite his preoccupation with vital matters, he personally replied to Chaiwala on May 28, 1946, and expressed sorrow over the death of the old hammal:

Dear Mr. Chaiwala,

I have received your letter dated the 24th May addressed to Miss Jinnah, and I thank you for it.

I was sorry to hear that the old hammal Ganpat had died, and I do hope that the two servants now will look after the house. I hope that you will occasionally go and see it. My programme has been quite upset, and I don't think I shall be able to get to Bombay till the middle of June perhaps.

As regards the leakage, I have seen your estimate. Please take the matter in hand, and have it done as soon as possible.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

The father of another servant, Roshan Khan, died and he applied for leave. The Quaid was at the time on a tour. He received the letter from Roshan Khan dated March 18, 1944, on March 27, 1944, at Lahore. Immediately he replied:

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter and I am very sorry to hear the sad news of the death of your father. We shall be reaching Bombay about the 10th of April, but if you must go before that, then I hope that you will get some reliable substitute until I arrive and you can show this letter of mine to Mr. Chaiwala, who will pay you your salary for the month of March.

I am sorry I did not receive your letter as I was travelling till the 26th and so I could not reply before.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

In a similar case, another servant, Abdul Sattar, left the Quaid's service and went away to his native place in Tehsil Haripur, as his father was ill. The father died and Abdul Sattar wrote to the Quaid whether he would re-employ him:

از طرف عبدالستار بخدمت جناب عالی قیادہ
اعظم مسٹر محمد علی جناح صاحب السلام علیکم
بعد واضح ہو کہ جس وقت ہم آپ سے
رخصت ہوئے تھے ہمارا ملک کو اپنے
بوڑھے کو ہم کتنا چھوٹے پر جا تھے
تو عین بوڑھے کو کہ ہمارے باپ بیمار ہے
اگر کہ زیادہ ہوا تو بیس دن بعد
آجاؤں گا مگر اب جو ہمارا صاحب فوت
ہو گیا ہے اور ہم ہمارا ہاتھ کر کہ نوکری دے

سو جواب دیجئے کہ میں آجاؤں یا کہ نہیں
ایسکا واپس جواب ضرور بہ ضرور روانہ کریں
اور ایکی بھی کچھ حصہ السلام علیکم اور
زیادہ السلام علیکم قبول ہووا جانب
عبدالستار خان میرہ

The Quaid replied to him on November 20, 1946:

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter and I am sorry to hear about your father's death.

I shall be very glad to employ you, and you join me at Bombay on the 15th of December, when I shall be in Bombay.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

The Quaid believed in strict discipline. In April 1943, when one of his drivers could not get on well with other servants and often quarrelled with them, he discharged him. The testimonial which he gave is typical of his temperament:

The bearer, Mohammad Alam, has been in my service as a motor-car driver for over a year and I found him honest and very good driver, although in him the bump of locality is far from developed.

The chief reason why I am dispensing with his services is that he cannot get on well with other

> servants and recently he had a violent quarrel with my khidmatgar. I am therefore obliged to discharge him.

* * *

The Quaid abhored all vices. A certificate dated November 11, 1944, which the Quaid issued to Mubarak Baig, a cook, is an example:

> The bearer, Mubarak Beg, has been in my service as a cook for about nine months. He is a good cook and a good servant and I am sorry that I have to part with him. His vice of drink makes him so unreliable that I have no alternative but to dismiss him.

* * *

Only a few papers are available which throw light over the extent of the Quaid's investments in shares. Some letters contain his instructions for purchase, sale and collection of proceeds of Dividend Warrants; while one or two deal with particular transactions.

* * *

Ten shares in Osmanshahi Mill were sold by the Quaid. The purchaser sent the scrips for transfer. In transit they were burnt. The brokers of the purchaser, Jagmohandas J. Kapadia and Company, wrote to the Quaid on February 29, 1944, informing him about the burning of the scrips and requested him to sign and send fresh transfer deeds to enable the purchaser to get fresh shares:

> Dear Sir,
>
> We sent the above shares standing in your name to the company for being transferred to the names of our clients Messrs. Lal Ramji and Luxmichand Lalji. It appears that the shares and the transfer deeds executed by you and our clients were burnt as a result of the fire that took place in the Madras

Mail on the night of 27th January last. We enclose copy of the letter received by us from the Presidency Postmaster in this connection.

We have written to the company informing it of the loss of the shares. We are also informing you about this in order that you may be good enough to sign the accompanying fresh transfers and make payment to us or to our clients of the dividend that may be received by you in respect of these shares.

We are sorry to put you to trouble; but you will please realise that we are helpless in this matter as the loss has occurred through circumstances beyond our clients' control.

Yours faithfully,

J.J. Kapadia & Co.

The Quaid refused to sign the blank transfer forms. The letter he wrote on March 7, 1944, in this connection to J.J. Kapadia & Co. reads:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th February 1944 and I would suggest that you should get in touch with my broker through whom these shares were sold. As at present advised, I do not see how I can sign the Transfer Forms without the Share Certificates. In any case, the matter requires further information of a definite character before I consider the question of signing these Transfer Forms, which information is not available to me until I get to Bombay.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

On March 6, 1944, Devkaran Nanjee, Share Brokers, wrote to the Quaid that the transfer books of the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation were going to be closed and, therefore, they could not get the shares purchased for him transferred in his name. The Quaid wrote to them on March 17, 1944, instructing them to ensure that these were transferred as soon as possible:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th of March and I note that you have been retaining the shares to protect my interest for the dividend, as the books of the Company are closing on the 13th of March. You will please see that they are transfered in my name as soon as possible and I shall adjust the account with you. I shall be returning to Bombay about the middle of April.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Four letters addressed to Nawab Mir Laik Ali give details of certain transactions. Mir Laik Ali suggested to the Quaid to purchase shares in Sirpur Paper. The Quaid in a letter dated February 8, 1945, referred to the suggestion and enquired as to what Mir Laik Ali thought their reasonable price would be. He also made it clear that the shares would be purchased by him without any responsibility on the part of Mir Laik Ali. The letter reads:

My dear Laik Ali,

This is just to enquire in reference to your suggestion about the Sirpur Paper shares. I would like to know what you would consider a reasonable price and how many shares would be available. On your suggestion, of course without any responsibility on your part, I would be prepared to buy at least 4/500 shares. Please let me know with regard to this matter as soon as possible.

I might draw your attention that I have not received from Babu Khan his promised contribution towards the expenses of the Planning Committee.

I hope you are well, and with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Mir Laik Ali purchased the relevant shares. His letter in this regard is not available. But the Quaid through a letter dated April 14, 1945, sent to him a cheque for Rs. 49,650:

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

In continuation of my letter of April 10th, I am enclosing herewith a cheque for Rs. 49,650/-, as requested by you. The detailed account you will please send me as soon as possible.

I have already wired to you and also confirmed it by my letter of April 10th, asking you to buy 200 Hyderabad Construction shares at the rate quoted by you, but I have heard nothing yet from you confirming this transaction.

You will see from my above address that I am in Bombay, and am now feeling much better. I hope to leave for Matheran within a few days.

Yours sincerely,

Mir Laik Ali advised the Quaid on April 19, 1945, about the action taken. This letter is also not traceable. The Quaid's reply dated April 27, 1945, shows that he sent Rs. 55,466 to Mir Laik Ali for the shares of Hyderabad Construction Company and advised that the payment of Rs. 49,650 related to shares in the Sirpur Paper. The letter reads:

My dear Mr. Laik Ali,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th April,

brought to me by Mr. Hashim Ismail, and I have already signed the transfer forms for two hundred shares of the Hyderabad Construction Company Limited and handed them over to him for you to do the needful. I also received two hundred Share Certificates or Scrips duly endorsed in my favour, for which I have already signed and delivered a receipt to Mr. Hashim Ismail. I am enclosing now a cheque for Rs. 55,466/-, as requested by you. I have already sent you a cheque as requested by you, on account of two hundred shares of Sirpur, and this is for Hyderabad Construction Company Limited. I shall feel obliged if you would kindly furnish me with the complete account at your convenience. I may say here that I have not received any acknowledgement of my previous cheque sent to you on account of Sirpur shares.

Yes, I am very glad to say that I am feeling very much better and I hope to be soon quite all right.

Thanking you for your trouble.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

The last letter in the series is dated May 8, 1945, with which the Quaid sent Rs. 234 to Mir Laik Ali in full settlement of account:

Dear Mr. Laikali,

I am in receipt of your letter of 30th April, enclosing the accounts, as well as of the 2nd May 1945; and I am enclosing herewith a cheque for the balance due as per account, for Rs. 234/- (Rupees two hundred and thirty-four).

I am glad to inform you that I am almost all right, but I need rest yet for some time. I have noted what you say about ALMIZAN and also that you are

proceeding to Europe on the 15th May and I wish you Godspeed and every success.

With best wishes and kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

A letter dated June 5, 1945, from Jayantilal C. Mehta, a share broker, gives details of certain transactions:

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. and the contents wherein are noted.

One hundred shares Gokak Mines Ltd. have been sent for registration to the Co. Pucca receipt or the share certificates if available will be sent to you within a day or two.

We have purchased altogether (40) forty shares Alcocks out of your order for 114 shares. We have received from the market only 32 shares due to book being closed. If you wish, we may send you the Transfers for 32 shares for your signature or the whole lot of 40 shares which we hope to receive in the next week.

The market has been very steady for the last month due to scarcity of sellers and for the last week Marvari speculations have been very active in scrips like B'bay Dye and Steels and Scindhias. On the whole public is not at all inclined to sell their investment. 3½% Govt. Paper is quoted Rs. 10/1. Under the circumstances we have a very favourable view about the market.

Alcocks are quoted about 430/2/3 available in small lots. If you wish to complete the lot of 74 shares

please let us have your instructions about it at or about these rates.

Yours faithfully,

J.C. Mehta

The Quaid replied to him on June, 7, 1945:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 5th June, and I note that you will send me the pucca receipt of the 100 shares of Gokak, as soon as you get it from the Company.

As regards the Alcock shares, you may send me, as soon as possible, the Transfer Forms for all the 40, and not by triplets, that is to say you have already got 32, please try and secure the remaining 8, and send me the Transfer Forms for the whole lot together as promised, by next week. I am not prepared to buy Alcock beyond my limit that I had given you, *i.e.*, Rs. 415/- (Rupees four hundred and fifteen) per share.

I hope to return to Bombay by the middle of June, and then I shall get in touch with you personally, and see what can be done.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Sometimes a deal could not be finalized, as the following letter dated July 8, 1946, from the National Bank of India shows:

Dear Sir,

With reference to our letter of 21st May last, we beg to advise having received an advice from our Calcutta Office informing us that their brokers have not yet been able to buy the balance of your order, *viz.*, 800 ordinary shares Indian National Airways Ltd. at Rs. 46/- *cum* rights.

In this connection their brokers have advised them as follows:

> "There is a balance of 800 shares outstanding against the above order. As we can no longer deal on a *cum* right basis, would you please let us have revised instructions. The current price is about Rs. 49/- *ex* rights."

Please be good enough to favour us with your instructions in the matter and advise us if we may treat the balance of your order as cancelled.

Yours faithfully,

Manager

The Quaid cancelled the order on August 2, 1946:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th July, and beg to inform you that my order for the purchase of the balance of 800 ordinary shares Indian National Airways, at Rs. 46/- per share *cum* rights stands cancelled.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Several publishing houses solicited the Quaid's permission to publish his speeches and writings. Some made proposals for publishing his autobiography if he could spare time for writing it. Individuals wrote to him for permission to reproduce published material relating to his political activities and life or for translation into different languages like Bengali, Malayalam, Tamil, and Gujrati. Sometimes he was sent manuscripts with requests to go through them and favour the authors with his opinion. The Quaid did not have time for writing his autobiography or revising others' work. However, in case of translations, he readily granted permission, ensuring that some monetary benefit also

accrued to the Muslim League which required funds for its activities.

* * *

Major portion of the correspondence on the subject of publications consists of letters exchanged with Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, a notable publisher of Lahore, who published various books dealing with the issue of Pakistan and relating to the Quaid. Correspondence with him dealt with matters concerning the publication of the Quaid's speeches, Allama Iqbal's letters and Matlub's biography of the Quaid.

In January, 1942, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf had published the Quaid's SPEECHES AND WRITINGS edited by Jamiluddin Ahmad. He had agreed to pay to the Quaid 15 per cent as the publisher's contribution towards the League's funds. This amount, however, was not paid. Subsequently the second edition, too, was published. It was also exhausted in March, 1943. Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf sought the Quaid's permission for bringing out the third edition. The Quaid then enquired about the unpaid amount. Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf explained the position in his letter dated March 21, 1943:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I have to thank you for your letter of 11th instant. As desired I am enclosing here the Agreement in duplicate for favour of your signature. Kindly return me one copy.
>
> When I published the first edition I came to the understanding with Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad, the editor, that we will supply him a certain number of copies free for distribution. It was further stipulated that as we were not to pay any royalty, we will keep the price low in that proportion and also distribute copies at reduced rates and even free in deserving cases to propagate the views of our Leader and make some contribution in cash to the League funds, which we did through Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad. (May I also refer

you to my letter dated 1st April, 1942, in which I have stated that my purpose in publishing the SPEECHES was not commercial.)

Apart from all this, we published a small book entitled THE INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL TANGLE by Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad and sold it at cost price only to propagandise the League, and its cost was to be defrayed out of the savings from the sale of SPEECHES. Free copies were sent to all Indian and European leaders. One of them, Pt. Amarnath Jha, felt crossed and styled it as an "indictment of the entire community".

In short, I am publishing such literature only to put forth our League views vigorously and systematically. In this connection my first publication—PAKISTAN: A NATION was issued on 2nd March, 1941—the day you were to preside over the (first) Muslim Students Pakistan Conference in Lahore. I wished to present a copy of this book personally but you were too busy that day. I, therefore, left a copy with Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan Saheb to be presented to you.

I am yet to publish a number of books in this connection. A new book on "Pakistan" would be coming out very shortly. I would have published many more books by now but for paper scarcity.

In these circumstances I hope you will be pleased to waive your demand on the first edition. I am coming to Delhi very shortly and would see you.

Thanking you.

Yours truly,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf accordingly called on the Quaid at Delhi, and discussed the matter personally. As a result, the Quaid waived the demand for royalty on the first edition. He also entrusted him with the work of publishing the letters written to him by Allama

Iqbal. In his letter dated March 27, 1943, the Quaid brought on record the gist of discussions:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st of March and I thank you for it. In view of the circumstances narrated by you in your letter, I am willing to waive my demand for royalty on the first edition of the collection of my SPEECHES published by you.

With regard to the second edition, after our interview you have now formally agreed to pay a royalty of 15% and also as per terms of agreement on the forthcoming edition.

As to the letters of Iqbal to me which I have in my possession, you have agreed to undertake the publication of the same in a booklet form, on the terms that you should pay a lump sum of Rs. 300 by way of royalty on the first edition of 3,000 copies of such a booklet.

Please, therefore, let me have your cheque for the amount, and I am enclosing herewith the corrected copy of the letters for publication together with my Foreword which should be prefaced to it.

It is understood that the arrangement mentioned above regarding the letters of Iqbal applies to the first edition of 3,000 copies only. Any further edition will be subject to such terms as may be agreed upon later on.

I hope that you will bring out these letters in an attractive form with a very nice get-up and put one of Iqbal's best photographs on the front page.

You will also supply me with one hundred copies of these publications as complimentary copies as soon as they are ready.

Of course I need not tell you anything more, as you are an expert in publishing work, and I am sure that you will bring this booklet and the collection of my SPEECHES in a very nice way.

Wishing you all success.

Yours faithfully,

Encl: Foreword—2 pages
Letters—18 pages

Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, too, wrote to the Quaid on March 27, 1943, confirming the arrangements, and sent a draft for Rs. 300, covering the amount of royalty:

Dear Sir,

I must confess I am very grateful to you for your kindly allowing me to discuss with you the very important matters the other day. Your valuable thoughts and sincere suggestions greatly inspired me; and I am now convinced that the work I have chosen myself has the approval of our great leader and is therefore the right one. With your kind cooperation I hope to materialise my plans very soon, which I am sure will go a long way in furthering our common cause.

I am enclosing here a formal agreement for publishing Iqbal's letters along with a draft for Rs. 300/-. Kindly return one copy.

I do not remember the exact title that you have proposed for the title. I have, therefore, left in the agreement, which kindly fill in.

I hope you must have written a few lines by way of an Introduction or Foreword to the letters.

Thanking you.

Yours very truly,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

The Quaid acknowledged the receipt of the letter and the draft on March 31, 1943, from Delhi:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I am in receipt of your letter of 27th March enclosing the endorsement of two copies of agreement, duplicate of which I am returning duly signed. Also I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a Draft for Rs. 300/- as royalty on the first edition of 3,000 copies of the book which might by entitled LETTERS OF IQBAL TO MR. JINNAH. I have already sent you the manuscript of these letters along with my Foreword by way of an introduction and I hope that you have already received them.
>
> Wishing you success.
>
> Yours faithfully,

LETTERS OF IQBAL TO MR. JINNAH were arranged for publication by Mohammad Sharif Toosi, who was then the Head Master of M.B. High School, Wazirabad, and is presently living a retired life. Toosi Saheb prepared a draft of the foreword to this booklet, which the Quaid approved without any alteration. Since Toosi Saheb was a Government servant, and could not write for the press openly, he had adopted the pen-name of MRT under which he contributed articles to various papers, particularly the EASTERN TIMES of Lahore, expounding the cause of the Muslim League and its demand for Pakistan. The Quaid was quite impressed by his style of writing and pattern of thinking.

MRT's articles with a Foreword by the Quaid were published in two volumes: NATIONALISM IN CONFLICT IN INDIA, and, PAKISTAN AND MUSLIM INDIA. Besides the letters of Allama Iqbal, MRT also arranged the correspondence of other leaders with the Quaid, which was published under the title : EYE WITNESSES OF HISTORY.

MRT spent his summer vacations in Bombay or Delhi, placing his services at the Quaid's disposal. He was the only person whom the Quaid allowed access to his library and files. It was during one of his visits that MRT, while going through

the Quaid's papers, came across the bunch of Allama Iqbal's letters.

Coming back to the subject of the publication of Allama Iqbal's letters, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, after receipt of the Quaid's letter, dated March 27, and before receipt of the letter dated March 31, again enquired about the exact title which the Quaid would like to give to the booklet. The letter, dated March 31, 1943, reads:

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 27th instant which crossed mine of the same date. I have also received the 18 letters of Iqbal together with your Foreword. Thanks again.

Kindly let me know the exact title you wish to give to these letters. We could not send them to press for want of the title. We shall do everything to publish them in an elegant form.

On calculation I find that by selling the letters at 8 annas per copy we would not be able to recover even the bare costs. I, therefore, request you to permit me to price it at 12 annas.

In this connection I would like to point out that the main bulk of our sales are done by booksellers alone throughout the country. Even in Lahore we sell through booksellers. Only such few customers reach our premises—located as we are out of the market—who wish to see our business. To all our booksellers we have to provide a number of facilities beside trade discount.

The second paragraph of your letter is not clear. I understand that the royalty is payable only on the forthcoming edition (which has gone to press) of your SPEECHES.

Thanking you.

Yours truly,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

The Quaid replied on April 4, 1943, advising him to print the letters under the title: LETTERS OF IQBAL TO MR. JINNAH:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo and beg to inform you that the title proposed by me in my previous letter was as follows:

LETTERS OF IQBAL TO MR. JINNAH

But you can decide what you consider best. As regards the price, you may fix annas twelve intstead of annas eight if you think proper.

With regard to the collection of my speeches, I am afraid that there is some misunderstanding because not only in our conversation but in your letter dated the 21st March 1943 you requested that I should waive my demand on the first edition, but there is a second edition; and I understood that you will be prepared to pay me the royalty of 15 per cent on the second edition; as well as the forthcoming edition which I suppose would be third edition, and this last publication will be governed by the terms and conditions of the agreement arrived at between us in writing.

Yours faithfully,

On April 14, 1943, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf advised the Quaid that Allama Iqbal's letters had been sent for printing. He also stated that the new edition of the Quaid's SPEECHES had also gone to the press, and requested that for bringing it up-to-date he should send copies of the speeches and statements made by him after April 13, 1942:

Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your kind letters of 31st March and 4th April.

"Letters" are under print and we hope to bring them out by the end of this week.

The new edition of your SPEECHES has also gone to press and we are endeavouring to bring it out by the date of the Delhi sessions of the League. We have [a] limited stock of the 2nd edition which, we believe, would not meet the demand on the occasion of the sessions. In the meanwhile, may I request you to send copies of speeches and statements for inclusion in the new edition. The last article of the present edition is your statement on Cripps Proposals dated 13th April, 1942.

As regards the question of royalty on the second edition, I think the misunderstanding is mine. Unfortunately I have misplaced my copy of my letter of 21st March. Would you very kindly send me a copy of the same for my perusal.

Thanking you.

Yours truly,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

After publishing the third edition of the speeches, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf concentrated on the publication of the Quaid's biography by Matlub. In this letter of December 31, 1943, he wrote about the progress made till then and requested the Quaid to send photographs for inclusion it it:

Dear Sir,

This is to congratulate you on a grand success of the recent Muslim League session at Karachi. I was unfortunate not to attend it on account of my family circumstances, otherwise I would have had the pleasure to see you there.

You will be glad to learn that Mr. Matlub had finished his work on your biography. It extends to 400 or 500 pages and appears to be a result of industrious and painstaking labour on his part. Now

the MS is waiting Nawabzada Saheb's formal approval. I shall be grateful if you just drop a word to him to expedite and thus to enable us to print early. This work is in great demand and will serve a lot in the propagation of the Muslim League, because your life and the Muslim League go hand in hand.

May I take the liberty to recall my interview with you on the occasion of previous Muslim League session in Delhi. There you were generous to promise me to favour with some of your photographs from your album, when you would be at Bombay. During such a long interval of time, I abstained to remind you because I had not the need of them then. Now it is opportune time to request you for those photos to be included in your biography. These photographs should be the best and should depict various remarkable stages of your life. We want to give novel pictures which have not so far caught the eye of the general reader. I assure you that those photographs will be returned to you in original without any sort of careless handling or anything of that sort. We will just take out a negative for the blocks and return to you immediately.

I was overjoyed to learn that you have a mind to come over to Lahore in the very near future. Though it will be too early to request you, but knowing that you will be awfully busy over here, I take the courage to get some time for tea. It will be my greatest of honour if you accept my invitation for tea on any afternoon during your stay here in Lahore. I hope that you will not disappoint me.

The sale of LETTERS OF IQBAL and that of your SPEECHES is going on smoothly.

Wishing you a happy New Year, I remain,

Yours truly,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

The Quaid replied to him on January 19, 1944, from Bombay:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st December 1943, and thank you for it. I was away at Karachi, and thereafter, for some little time I was not able to attend to your letter. Yes, Karachi session was a great success, and I am sorry your were not able to come there.

I note that Matlub has finished his work and the manuscript is now with Nawabzada Saheb. I shall write to him as desired by you to expedite the manuscript.

As regards the photographs, I think Mr. Mahmood Hassan, who is now the Manager of DAWN, Delhi, had prepared certain blocks some time ago; and if you can get in touch with him, you might be able to secure some good photographs of mine. I am sending you some by a separate parcel. As regards the later photographs, there are so many, some taken at Lahore by Zaidi, which were very good; and some were taken at Karachi by Sequeira and some at Bombay by Udit Gopal. The address of Udit Gopal is, No. 1, Banaji St., Fort, Bombay; whereas Zaidi and Sequeira are well known; and if you write to them, they will get your letters alright.

Yes, I hope to go to Lahore for a few days while I am at Delhi; but when, I cannot say. I shall be in Delhi in the first week of February, and of course, I shall be very pleased to accept your kind invitation for tea when I decide and fix up the date of my visit to Lahore.

I am glad that the sales of LETTERS OF IQBAL and that of my SPEECHES are going on smoothly; but you never send me any of your publications—surely

you might send some complimentary copies to me of your latest publications.

Yours faithfully,

This letter was followed by another on February 2, 1944:

Dear Sir,

On further consideration I have decided to bring the photos to Delhi, and I shall be reaching Delhi on or about the 7th and then I shall get in communication with you. I understand that Matlub has not yet given the manuscript to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours faithfully,

Meanwhile, the first edition of Allama Iqbal's letters was exhausted. In March 1944, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf requested the Quaid to allow him to bring out the second edition on the same terms and conditions on which the first edition was printed. The Quaid agreed on April 8, 1944:

Dear Mr. Shaikh Ashraf,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st March 1944 and the cheque for Rs. 300/- as royalty, and I agree to allow you to print 3,000 copies of the second edition of LETTERS OF IQBAL on the same terms on which the first edition was printed as per terms of agreement dated the 27th March 1943, and those terms will be binding on both the parties *mutatis mutandis.*

Yours sincerely,

While work relating to the biography was in progress, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf requested the Quaid on April 8, 1944, to send some photographs of his student days:

Dear Sir,

Hoping that you will be having some rest after your heavy work in Lahore.

I am extremely thankful to you from the core of my heart for the honour you bestowed upon me in accepting my tea. Besides this, I am highly indebted to you for the appreciation and praise you credited to my work, and since then I feel elated and encouraged. I have begun to feel that I have some worth in this transitory world and I am not only a cog in this machinery of life and death.

As suggested by you, I take the courage to remind you of your photograph of your student days which you told me here is with your old class-fellow from U.P., and the address of whom is with Mr. Saiyid. Now please arrange to favour us with that photo so that we may decorate the biography.

Moreover, please confirm your sanction for allowing us to print LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH.

With regards.

Yours faithfully,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

The Quaid replied on April 10, 1944, from Delhi:

Dear Muhammad Ashraf,

Many thanks for your letter of April 8th. I have already written to you about the publication of LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH.

I have asked Sayed to get in touch with my contemporary students in England for the purpose of securing my photograph, and he will do the needful.

Thanking you for all your kindness while I was in Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

In connection with the publication of the second edition of LETTERS, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf had personally discussed with the Quaid, when he was in Lahore, the desirability of printing and including a facsimile of one of Allama's letters. The Quaid had agreed. Accordingly, when arrangements for the second edition were nearing completion, Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf requested the Quaid on April 17, 1944, to bring the original letter on his impending visit to Lahore. He also reminded the Quaid of his biography still remaining with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan for necessary touches:

My dear Qaid-i-Azam,

Many thanks for your very kind letter dated the the 10th of April, 1944. I also gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your letter in which you have written to me about the publication of LETTERS OF IQBAL TO MR. JINNAH

While in Lahore I requested you to favour me with an original of any important letter of Allama Iqbal to you, to enable me to insert it into the new edition of the book as a facsimile, and you were kind to accede to it.

Now I take the liberty to remind you and request you to bring it along with you while coming to Lahore.

The MS of your biography is still with Nawabzada Saheb, and we are anxiously waiting for it. Would you kindly get it done at the earliest, and oblige.

I am indebted to you for your very generous patronage and for the help you are rendering in procuring your photo from your contemporary student.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

On April 20, 1944, when the Quaid reached Lahore, he wrote to Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, informing him that he had brought Allama Iqbal's letter, and asked him to see him:

Dear Mr. Muhammad Ashraf,

Many thanks for your letter of April 17th. Yes, I have brought the original letter of Iqbal with me, and if you will be good enough to phone my Secretary and fix up an appointment, I shall be very glad to see you.

Yours sincerely,

The Quaid left Lahore on May 8, 1944, for Kashmir. Certain developments relating to the biography took place, which Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf reported to the Quaid on May 23, 1944:

My dear Qaid-i-Azam,

Hoping that you will be enjoying your stay in Kashmir to the best.

May I recall to you that in our last meeting in Lahore, we decided that the MS of your biography may be glanced through by Mr. Pothan Joseph instead of Nawabzada Saheb who is too busy. On this account, I wrote to Mr. Pothan Joseph and I have received his reply, a copy of which is enclosed.

This noble venture of the publication of your biography has been delayed to a considerable extent. I am sure that Nawabzada Saheb cannot do this work on account of his multifarious activities. You can just imagine that so far he has not even spoken to Mr. Joseph in this respect which he promised to do in our last meeting. Now I am in a great fix. The paper I reserved for it since long is proving a dead investment. I have given a wide publicity that I am going to publish your biography, and the enthusiasts have

already registered orders, and now they are reminding me again and again. This indirectly is affecting my goodwill.

In the circumstances, I approach you with the humble request to help me out of the difficulty. I do not know how long a time Mr. Pothan Joseph will take to complete the revision work, and the additional expense of remuneration. Therefore, you may please permit me to make local arrangements for the revision work and thus to speed up the work. I assure you that this work will be done in an efficient and elegant way.

Besides the above, if any other publisher publishes your biography earlier than myself, you can realise that it will jeopardise my interests. Your biography which is first in the market will cover up the market; and the later ones, how good they may be, will not be able to grip the attention of the readers.

Therefore, I repeat my request that you may please permit me to make my own arrangements for the revision and speed up its publication.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

The letter from Pothan Joseph, written to Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf on May 16, 1944, and referred to by him in the above letter, reads:

I have received your letter about publishing Mr. Jinnah's biography. My difficulty is that last year there was, with Mr. Jinnah's approval, a proposal that I should write his Memoirs, and he had promised to give me some material as soon as he could spare some time. I am not sure how I should in the circumstances proceed in the matter.

Nawabzada has given me no MS so far. I propose to go on leave early in June, and I may be able to look through it during my journey home and back.

In the last paragraph, you speak of remuneration for the work. I would like to know what you have in mind. The custom is both to pay a revision fee and also have a share reserved in the royalty on sales. As you are a publisher and a bookseller, the proposal must come from you.

The Quaid replied to Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf on May 29, 1944, from Srinagar:

Dear Mr. Ashraf,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 23rd. I have done all I could to help you so that your proposed publication of my biography may be more reliable; but it is entirely for you to do what you think right, and it will be entirely your responsibility. Therefore, please don't think that I wish in any way to come in the way of making your own arrangements for the revision and speed-up of its publication.

Thanking you.

Yours sincerely,

Subsequently, the matter was straightened out; and, after the manuscript was revised by Pothan Joseph, it went in for printing. In this regard Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf sent the following letter to the Quaid on December 13, 1944:

My dear Qaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Hoping you will be enjoying best of health.

Mr. Matlub has forwarded to me the manuscript of your biography upto 1942, and the Append-

ices. The real manuscript covers 489 pages of the foolscap. I have written to him to bring the biography up-to-date, which I hope he will do so. I guess that the work will expand to 1,000 pages of the printed book. The entire manuscript has been revised by Mr. Pothan Joseph, as desired by you, because Nawabzada Liaquat Ali could not have the leisure to go through it. Now it will pass through the machines, and we pray that it may be appreciated by the readers.

We wish to decorate the volume with your photographs. I have secured some photos from the DECCAN TIMES. In this connection, I respectfully beg to recall to your memory my interview with you in Mamdot Villa, Lahore. You were then kind to secure for me your photos from your old class-fellow in U.P. Now it is a ripe time to approach you again for this. I have learnt from Mr. Matlub that Miss Fatima Jinnah has got some of your photos which depict a phase of your life. I will be much obliged if you would [be] very kind to favour me with those photos. You will agree with me that the dignity of the book will be considerably enhanced if the volume is decorated by the photos which have not yet caught the eye of the common reader.

I hope you will appreciate that in spite of paper famine and printing difficulties, books supporting fervently the cause of Pakistan so dear to us, are pouring out from my publishing house. Recently, I have published THROUGH PAKISTAN TO FREEDOM by Jamil-ud-din Ahmad, a complimentary copy of which has been submitted to you under a separate registered cover. The News Paper Control Economy Order has put fetters on my publishing activities, otherwise I would have had many valuable and exhaustive books in favour of Pakistan to my credit.

I will be coming to Delhi in the next week and will be glad to wait on you.

With high respect, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

P.S.—I will be promptly returning the photos, if so graciously and generously lent to me, after taking their negatives.

The biography ultimately came out in August. Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf sent its two copies to the Quaid on August 9, 1945:

My dear Qaid-e-Azam,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 24th July, 1945. I have the privilege of sending you 2 copies of your biography written by Mr. Matlub-ul-Hassan. The book is entitled MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH: A POLITICAL STUDY. The book is published in a most opportune time, because at the present time you are the most discussed and talked personality in this country. You are today the most praised yet most slandered; the most exalted yet the most detested; the most adored and yet the most misrepresented and misunderstood personality in our country. Of course, the conflicting opinions are held by the two rival nations: the Muslims and the Hindus. It was, therefore, proper that your biography should be published at this time. You will appreciate that the publication of the life of the living personality is a most difficult task; but in the interest of the Muslim nation I have accomplished this task. I trust that in view of the innumerable difficulties created by the war, with respect of the paper and printing, you will overlook the blemishes in the get-up of the book. I hope to bring out a deluxe edition as soon as the conditions of the paper market permit.

The second copy may kindly be presented to Miss Fatima Jinnah.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely

Sh. Mohammad Ashraf

* * *

Numerous requests for allowing translation of Allama Iqbal's letters were received. Even before their publication, Sheikh Ataullah, lecturer in Economics, Muslim University, Aligarh, wrote to the Quaid on February 19, 1943, for their copies, seeking his permission to include their Urdu translation in his book IQBAL NAMA. MRT, who was working with the Quaid in Bombay at that time, informed him that as arrangements had been completed for publication, their copies could not be furnished to him. Sheikh Ataullah requested the Quaid on April 18, 1943, for an interview so that he could personally explain the matter. The Quaid, on April 19, 1943, advised him that as he was busy with the sessions of the League, he could meet him only thereafter. The matter lingered on and was finally decided when the Quaid wrote to Sheikh Ataullah on November 6, 1943, in reply to his letter dated November 1, 1943:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and in reply beg to state that I am willing to give you permission to incorporate Iqbal's letters to me in your collection of other letters provided they are in Urdu language, as with regard to the English publication, I have already agreed with the publisher on certain terms. So far as you are concerned, I am willing to give you the permission provided you pay a royalty of Rs. 300 lump sum on the first edition of your Urdu collection IQBAL NAMAH — Letters of Iqbal's pamphlet. Of course, this money I don't want it myself personally, but will go towards the All India Muslim

League Fund as a contribution. Any further edition of your collection will be subject to such terms as may be agreed upon later on. If you are agreeable, please confirm.

Yours faithfully,

Sheikh Ataullah, however, did not accept the terms. His letter dated November 13, 1943, reads:

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 6 Nov., 1943, and to say that prospects of my book IQBAL NAMA do not justify my accepting any financial obligations suggested in your terms for permission to incorporate Iqbal's letters to Jinnah in my collection.

Yours cordially,

Ataullah

* * *

Iffat Maqsood of Manazil-ul-Sharaf, Baghbanpura, Lahore, requested the Quaid for permission to translate and publish the LETTERS in Urdu. The Quaid replied on September 10, 1943:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th of September 1943, and beg to inform you that I am willing that you should translate in Urdu the LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH, published by Shaikh Mohamed Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, for which I have written the Foreword, provided you are prepared to pay a reasonable sum for royalty, say about Rs. 300/- lump sum by way of royalty on the first edition of 3,000 copies only of such a booklet. This amount, I need hardly tell you, I don't want it myself personally, but will go towards the All India Muslim

League Fund as a contribution. Any further edition will be subject to such terms as may be agreed upon later on. If you are agreeable, please let me know.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

S.M. Bazlool Huq, an editor in MRITTIKA—an organ of progresive writers of Bengal, Calcutta—was interested in publishing a Bengali version of the LETTERS. Seeking his permission, S. M. Bazlool Huq wrote to the Quaid on October 12, 1945:

Revered Sir,

I have the honour most respectfully to state that the *Mrittika Granthani Bibhag* has contemplated to publish the Bengali translation of the book entitled LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH; and as such, a correspondence between Ashraf Publishing House and us followed. In his reply, Mr. Mohammed Amin on behalf of Ashraf Publishing House regretted his inability in granting the permission, as the right of that book entirely vests with you.

2. As you know better than any one else that Bengal Muslims have been kept in illusion by the hypocritic Hindu press, who are much more powerful than the existing League press. Furthermore, the idea that has been adumbrated in Lahore (August) Resolution; and again the name 'Pakistan' which has become synonymous with that resolution, has more than once been questioned. A few days back Dr. Jayakar had issued a statement to the effect that the idea of 'Pakistan' was hunted out from the brain of a Punjabi undergraduate. Such cooked-up falsehood discredits our leadership; and in fact, many Muslims have become unscrupulous about League.

3. Therefore, in order to give a thundering

blow to such fabricated insinuations, the letters of Allama Iqbal, as published, would be of immense value.

4. One more object of translating the book into Bengali language is that most of the Bengali Muslims are still illiterate and are not at all intimated with English language. With a view to provide the facts into intensive villages and rural Bengal, we have contemplated it.

5. On the face of the above facts, I pray that you would be kind enough to grant the permission and thereby turn the consciousness of millions of people about the realities of League.

6. A copy of the letter from Ashraf Publishing House is annexed for your perusal.

With respectful salutations.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most sincere follower,

S.M. Bazlool Huq

In his reply dated November 11, 1945, the Quaid permitted them to publish the Bengali translation of the LETTERS:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 12th, and beg to inform you that I have no objection to your publishing LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH in the Bengali language, as you propose to do, and in no other language. As regards English and Urdu, I have already entered into agreements with other parties.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

On December 17, 1945, K.M. Yousuf requested the Quaid

to allow him to translate the LETTERS into Tamil and publish them. The Quaid allowed him as per his letter dated December 30, 1945:

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 17th instant, and I have no objection to your publishing the translation of the LETTERS OF IQBAL TO JINNAH in Tamil language and no other.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Sometimes manuscripts were sent to the Quaid for his opinion or with requests for revising them. Oxford University Press sent to him in May 1943 the manuscript of a booklet entitled HOW TO SECURE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE, and requested him for his opinion. The Quaid could not go through the manuscript. Hawkins of the Press reminded him. The Quaid, on August 10, 1943, replied:

Dear Mr. Hawkins,

With reference to our conversation on the telephone this morning, I beg to inform you that I received the manuscript which was sent to my Secretary by your covering letter of the 27/5/43 just on the eve of my departure on my tour for Sind and Baluchistan on the 1st of June, and I thought I would look into it on my return, not thinking that this was the original manuscript and that you had no copy with you. While I was on tour, I received a letter from Mr. Saiyid reminding me of your request and that I should return the manuscript as you had no copy with you. I then informed him that it was not with me and on my return I would search for it and that had I known that this was the only copy, I certainly would have adopted a different course. However, on my return on the 23rd July, I received a note addressed to my Secretary, dated the 24th of July by you; and I at once

searched for the manuscript and fortunately found it, and I was going to read it; but in the meantime, you know on the 26th of July there was a serious attack on my life; and hence I was not able to attend to it. I am extremely sorry if I put you to any inconvenience; and having regard to our conversation this morning, I at once took up your manuscript and have read it with very great interest indeed, but I cannot and I am sure you will not expect me to commit myself to your proposed scheme; and it is for you to decide whether you should publish the pamphlet in its present form. I hope you will understand my position in the matter.

Thanking you, however, for the courtesy you have shown me in sending me the manuscript in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Hawkins again wrote to the Quaid requesting his permission to quote him as having commented: "I have read it with great interest indeed" in the publicity material relating to the book. His letter, dated August 12, 1943, reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of 10 August and for returning the MS: HOW TO SECURE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE. I am sorry you do not feel able either to encourage or discourage its publication, but am glad to note that the pamphlet interested you. I think it is probable that we shall publish it in a slightly modified form, as I believe it will start people thinking more realistically. If we should publish, I hope you will have no objection to the quotation of your sentence: "I have read it with very great interest indeed" in any advertising matter which may be issued.

Yours sincerely,

Hawkins

The Quaid did not agree and replied on August 13, 1943:

Dear Mr. Hawkins,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 12th of August 1943 and thank you for it. I think in fairness if you are going to use any quotation from my letter, you should give the following; otherwise it is liable to be misunderstood:

> "I have read it with very great interest indeed; but I cannot and I am sure you will not expect me to commit myself to your proposed scheme; and it is for you to decide whether you should publish the pamphlet in its present form."

Yours sincerely,

* * *

On April 8, 1944, Ibadatyar Khan of U.P. Muslim Students Federation, writing from Aligarh, requested the Quaid to revise his book on Pakistan. The Quaid on April 10, 1944, replied:

Dear Mr. Ibadat Yar Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 8th, and I regret very much indeed that I cannot comply with your request. If I start doing this and make a precedent of this character, I shall be flooded with such requests, as there are so many books and publications springing up nowadays.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

Anwar Hussain, who was at the time the General Secretary of the All Bengal Muslim Students League, an affiliated unit of the All India Muslim Students Federation, wrote to the Quaid on November 2, 1944, from Calcutta about having written a booklet on the "Failure of Jinnah-Gandhi Talks and the Duties of

the Muslims". His letter reads:

Respected Quaid-e-Azam,

My salam to you.

I have written a booklet on the "Failure of Jinnah-Gandhi Talks and the Duties of the Muslims". I have made up my mind to print it in thousands and distribute it to the Muslims of this province. If it would not have been written in Bengali language I would have sent the manuscript to you before giving it to the press. But I can once more assure you that it has been written on the basis of the Lahore Resolution, present policy of the All India Muslim League, and on the line of your letters written to Mr. Gandhi.

May I request you to be kind enough to send a message which I want to print on the front page of the said booklet.

Expecting a sharp reply. Hope to be excused [for] disturbing you by writing this letter.

With deepest regards.

Affectionately yours,

Anwar Hussain

The Quaid replied to him on November 20, 1944:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 2nd. You can very well understand that I cannot associate myself with the publication of any booklet unless it is vetted by me; but the kind of description you have given me in your letter and the object for which you have undertaken to write this booklet seem to me sound. I cannot, however, comply with your request and send you a message, thereby associating myself with the publication.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

An organisation called East Pakistan Renaissance Society was formed in Calcutta in the early forties by certain intellectuals. Talebur Rahman, the founder-member of the Society, sent a copy of a book written by him in Bengali, entitled SARBAHARADER PAKISTAN on December 17, 1945, to the Quaid. He requested him for a message for inclusion in another Bengali book, PAKISTANBADER KRAMA-BIKASH, which he was writing. His letter reads:

> My Adored Leader,
>
> I send herewith a Bengali book entitled SARBAHARADER PAKISTAN (Peoples' Pakistan) of which I am the author. This book mainly deals with the ideological aspect. This is a collection of articles on the ideals of Pakistan which I wrote from time to time. Most of these articles were read and discussed at the meetings of the "East Pakistan Renaissance Society" of which I am a founder-member, and they were also published in the daily AZAD or monthly MOHAMMADI. The book has been highly appreciated in the intellectual circles of Muslim Bengal and Assam.
>
> I have written another book entitled PAKISTANBADER KRAMA-BIKASH (Evolution of Pakistanism) containing 300 pages. This book is in fact a historical interpretation of Pakistan—a history of Muslim politics from Plassey to Simla Conference (1945). It is now in Press and is expected to be available to the reading public in course of a month. The book, when published, will be the only book of its kind in Bengali literature. My friends—the members of the "East Pakistan Renaissance Society"—assure me that the book has been one of the most valuable contributions to Pakistan literature in Bengali.
>
> I shall be highly obliged if you very kindly send for this book a message which I intend to publish in the

front page as a Preface. I hope and believe I shall be honoured with this favour of yours.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most devoted follower,

Talebur Rahman

The Quaid replied to him on December 27, 1945:

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th instant. I have received the Bengali book entitled SARBAHARADER PAKISTAN (Peoples' Pakistan). Unfortunately I cannot read Bengali and, therefore, I shall not be able to appreciate it in the same degree as when it is translated.

As regards your having written another book PAKISTANBADER KRAMA-BIKASH (Evolution of Pakistanism), I have noted it, but I regret I cannot send any message as it would not be quite right on my part to do so without examining the book. At present I am over-worked and I have no time to look into the manuscripts or books which are brought to my notice by various friends and workers of the Muslim League and asking for messages, which I am sure you will understand is not possible for me to do. I, therefore, regret I cannot comply with your request.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Abdul Wahid Qureshi was a prominent member of the League, and the General Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League. He compiled, in the form of a book, the results of the elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures and the proceedings of the Legislators Convention held on April 9, 1946.

The book was called *Tarikhi Faisla*. He sent its copy to the Quaid and requested him for his opinion. The Quaid stated in his letter dated November 11, 1946, that unless he went through the book he could not express any opinion:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 31st October and as promised, I will look into your book, but it was not possible for me to associate myself with it, nor can I give my opinion, unless I have gone through the book thoroughly and verified some facts for which, you know, I have no time, and the pressure of work on me is already beyond my physical capacity to cope with.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

In those cases where he had read the manuscript or the original work, the Quaid complied with requests from authors and translators for writing something for them. On August 17, 1944, Mohamed Azam, Lecturer, Urdu Department, Usmania University, sent a copy of his translation of the second lecture of Carlyle on HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP, and requested the Quaid to write a few lines for inclusion as foreword in the second edition:

Dear Sir,

I herewith send a copy of SYED-UL-AMBIA, which is a literal translation of Carlyle's second lecture on HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP. The first edition of this Urdu version is exhausted and now its second edition is under print. It is my earnest desire that it should have a Foreword from your pen, and I shall be much obliged if you could find time to write a few lines by way of Introduction to this second edition.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,

Mohamed Azam

The Quaid replied on August 26, 1944:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of August 17th, and I am glad to send you the following few words, as desired by you, in the shape of a Foreword from me:

"I am very glad indeed that you are bringing out a second edition of the Urdu translation of Carlyle's HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP. Amongst the various works of Carlyle, I read this one in English when I was a student in England, and ever since I have held the Sage of Chelsea in great admiration. He has done a great service not only to the Musalmans but to the rest of the world in giving an impartial picture and the history of the life and career of our great Prophet; and your venture to have a second edition of the Urdu translation is welcome, and I wish you every success."

I have received the Urdu translation you have sent to me, and I thank you for it.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Other publishers, too, were interested in publishing various speeches and writings of the Quaid. In this regard ADABISTAN, Lahore, wrote to the Quaid on December 5, 1942:

Sir,

We beg most respectfully to approach you with the following:

Our firm of publishers has decided to bring out a series of books dealing with Muslim politics of permanent importance. We have made a start with Muslim League activities and have selected your addresses, speeches and contributions to the press,

among your other writings. The first volume giving an absolutely correct translation of about 12 of your addresses at the annual sessions and conferences of the League is in the press and will be published during the course of the current month. The next volume will consist of your speeches in the Central Assembly and elsewhere.

We also wish—as there exists a keen demand on the part of the Muslims of India—to publish a volume of your letters of political importance and of a private character. We request you kindly to help us in the matter. Copies of letters sent in reply to Mr. Gandhi and others, together with the letters to which your replies have been made, are required. If you make a selection yourself, it would be best. In case of letters you have not with you, we would like to know the source or sources from which to secure them. Private letters throwing light on the life, work and ideas of your goodself, who are our Qaid-i-Azam, will be read by Muslim India with avidity and will certainly prove profitable. Kindly honour us and the public, by giving us copies of some of them.

We earnestly hope that you will spare the time for this purpose in the public interest and help us in contributing our mite to provide sound political literature in Urdu for the advancement of Muslim League ideology.

Yours obediently,

Muhammad Rafiq Malik

The Quaid replied to them on January 2, 1943, from Bombay:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 5th December 1942; and before I authorise or give my consent of publishing my writings, speeches, statements or anything connected with my work, I should like to know

whether you are prepared to pay any royalty on the net sale proceeds of any publication or publications of my work and which please specify them, as some of them have already been under arrangements, being translated in Urdu by some other agency. Of course, I do not want to make any money; but whatever royalty I can secure will be utilised for the objects of the All India Muslim League. The correspondence between me and Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was published by me in a pamphlet form, a copy of which I am sending you under a separate cover. Beside that I have got nothing in the shape of any letters to which [I] can give publicity at present. I wish you success for your venture, of course; we require as much publicity as possible which in any way can acquaint the world with our case and the programme and the policy of the All India Muslim League. I hope you will appreciate my imposing this condition that you should give at least 15% royalty on the net sale proceeds which will be utilised, as I have said already, for the aims and the objects of the All India Muslim League. I am sorry I was not able to reply to it earlier owing to pressure of work.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

On November 3, 1943, Syed Sharifuddin, 142, Bapukhote Street, Bombay-3, requested the Quaid to allow him to publish a collection of his published-in-the-press correspondence with different leaders. The Quaid conveyed to him his consent on November 5, 1943:

Dear Mr. Sharifuddin,

I have received your letter of the 3rd of November 1943, and I have no objection to your publishing the collection of my correspondence with different leaders on Indian political affairs which has already appeared in the press from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

In April 1944, A. Hamid of EASTERN TIMES, Lahore, discussed with the Quaid a proposal for publishing the League's annual proceedings. The Quaid agreed to the proposal and wrote to him from Srinagar on May 18, 1944:

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated April 22nd, I have carefully considered the matter of royalty, and I am willing to accept your offer. This agreement will only apply to the present edition of my speeches at the Delhi session of April 1943 and Karachi session of December 1943, printed and published by you, namely 1,000 impressions of the 1st edition of the Delhi session proceedings, and 1,000 impressions of the 1st edition of the Karachi session proceedings, which you propose to print.

No further impressions should be printed without giving me intimation and on such terms as we may agree upon.

Yours faithfully,

A. Hamid wrote another letter to the Quaid on July 12, 1944:

Dear Sir,

During your winding up the Punjab Muslim Students Federation 4th session speech at Lahore, you advised your hearers to study your Delhi, Karachi and Aligarh speeches, if they wanted insight of the present day Muslim politics in India.

People find some difficulty in procuring all these speeches; therefore, I have been approached by several to publish these speeches along with your Lahore speech delivered at the PMSF 4th session in the convenient form of one volume.

Will you, therefore, be so good as to send me your formal permit to publish these four speeches in

one volume on royalty basis? The first edition will be of one thousand copies only, and the get-up of the book will be quite worthy of the contents.

Hoping soon to have your permit, and in the meantime thanking you in anticipation, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A. Hamid

The Quaid gave him the formal permission to publish the four speeches delivered by him at Lahore, Delhi, Karachi and Aligarh in one volume, vide his letter dated July 18, 1944:

Dear Mr. Hamid,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 12th, and thank you for it. I agree to give you my formal permit to publish the four speeches in one volume referred to in your letter, on the royalty basis that you will give me 25%. The first edition will be of 1,000 copies only. Any subsequent edition will be subject to my permission and on such terms as we may agree upon.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

On March 10, 1945, S.A. Latif, Managing Partner, Lion Press, Lahore, wrote to the Quaid about MY LEADER written by Z.A. Suleri. The letter reads:

Most Respected Qaid-e-Azam,

It is for the first time that we have the honour of addressing you this letter. The occasion for this arose out of our earnest desire to present to you personally at the All India Muslim League session the book we have prepared on your great mission and achievements.

We own we are rather late in coming ahead with publishing Islamic literature, but we may assure you it has been due not to any lack of enthusiasm on our part, but just to circumstances. We, however, wish to make up for our past failure, and we have begun with giving the Muslim and other public a record of your work for Indian Musalmans. Why have we chosen this theme? The reason for our choice lies in our recognition of the grave situation that the Musalmans find themselves in. It is your work, Sir, that has given Musalmans unity. But we are not yet out of the wood. Indeed, by our reorganisation, we have only made our opponents more keen and more alert. Therefore, it is by our concerted efforts, by suppressing our private ambitions and interests, that we can go ahead and pass through the crisis. And that united front, we believe, can only [be] born out of our complete obedience of your commands. But such complete obedience to your commands is impossible without knowing in full the nature and depth of your mission. It is for this reason that we have chosen to present to the public a record of your achievements; and it is again for this reason that we regard our publication as the best contribution we can make to the Muslim cause.

The book is entitled MY LEADER and is written by your most devoted and capable follower, Mr. Z.A. Suleri. His passionate admiration for you can be hardly equalled by any. We do not propose to say here much about the ability and strength with which Mr. Suleri has treated the subject of your mission and achievements, but may just give two passages of his Preface:

> "...I own to a sense of shame that Musalmans have not given Qaid-e-Azam's work the attention it ought to command. In my humble opinion, nothing is more important today for the progress of Musalmans than to know the

programme of our Saviour. It is only by knowing what he wants to accomplish and how has he so far achieved what is before us, that we can give him the conscious support his mission deserves. I regard Jinnah as Providence's great test for Musalmans. If we shall not know to deserve him, we shall not deserve to go ahead. If we fail him, we will not fail ourselves, but also the generation to come. Jinnah stands at the most critical juncture in the history of Islam. By our conscious and sustained support to his programme, we can easily usher in a new era of Islamic renaissance; by failing him we can throw the Muslim world back into darkness. Shall we fail him? The choice is entirely ours. It is with this feeling of utter urgency that I have attempted at this work. If I succeed in focussing the Muslim attention on Jinnah's past work and future role, I should not have written these pages in vain . . ."

"...While writing about Jinnah's work, I have been invariably drawn into discussing Gandhi's role in Indian politics in their relation to Musalmans. I have not to apologize for that. For, even as an estimate of engineer's work in erecting anew the demolished buildings of London will not be formed without knowing the extent of havoc done to them by Nazi bombs, Jinnah's work for Musalmans is impossible for estimation unless we know beforehand the havoc Gandhi had wrought to the Muslim body-politic. Gandhi's destructive work needs must fit in the essential background of Jinnah's achievements."

These passages will give you an idea of the spirit of Mr. Suleri's work. Our humble request to you is kindly to consent to accept the presentation of a special volume of MY LEADER on the auspicious occasion of

the All India Muslim League [sessions]. If only Musalmans learn how passionately, consciously and unreservedly they should give their support to you, before long they will [be] on the way of endless progress. That is our belief.

We solicit an early reply.

Yours faithfully,
S. A. Latif

The Quaid replied to him on March 25, 1945:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th of March, and I am sorry that I was not able to attend to it earlier as I was not well. I am thankful to you for your encouraging letter for what little services I may have rendered to Muslim India and Islam in our political struggle. But I am sorry to say that it will not be possible for me to undergo the strain of the All India Muslim League sessions, as my doctors have strictly advised me to have complete rest; and I am, therefore, not likely to go to Lahore.

As regards the book entitled MY LEADER by Mr. Z.A. Suleri, I shall certainly be very interested to read it if you will be good enough to send me one, and if you can spare as many copies as you can, so that we can sell them or send some copies free as there is a constant demand from various parts, not only of India, but abroad, for the literature concerning the movement and the progress of the League. This can be arranged by you with Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League. No doubt, as in other cases, he will pay you a certain percentage of the sale price, deducting the usual discount 25% or 30%.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

On April 7, 1945, the Lion Press informed the Quaid, that the book was nearing completion; and on May 7, 1945, sent its 5 copies to him. On May 14, 1945, the Quaid wrote to S. A. Latif from Matheran:

> Dear Sir,
>
> Now that I have read the book MY LEADER by Mr. Suleri, I think that it will serve very useful purpose indeed to distribute copies of this in India to responsible and influential people as well as abroad. I think you should also send it to the various publishers and booksellers to enable them to sell this book on your behalf on usual terms. You can also send a few hundred copies to the All India Muslim League office on terms as your agency to effect sales of this publication; and, we have been selling great deal of literature. Please, therefore, get in touch with Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League, Daryaganj, Delhi; and as far as I am concerned, I shall feel extremely obliged if you will send me at least one hundred (100) copies, and I am quite willing to pay for it any reasonable price that you will fix, allowing me a substantial discount.
>
> Yours sincerely,

* * *

Requests were also made by foreign publishers to the Quaid for writing something exclusively for them.

Peter Muir, an American writer, came to India in 1942. Willis Kingsley Wing of 522, Fifth Avenue, New York, who was a representative of authors and Doubleday Doran and Company of New York had engaged him for writing a book about the war efforts in India. Doubleday Doran and Company were interested in publishing the writings of the Quaid. They asked Muir to meet the Quaid and to persuade him to write something on the Muslim World exclusively for them. He accordingly met the Quaid. The Quaid liked the idea; but before the matter could be finalised, Muir

left Delhi. On the eve of his departure on October 9, 1942, he wrote to the Quaid:

Midnight: October 9, 1942.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just learned that the plane schedule has been changed, and I am forced to leave for the south early in the morning. Therefore, I shall be unable to see you, I am sorry to say.

If you care to write the book, and I think it would be a magnificent opportunity to tell America the Muslim side of the problem, I suggest that you cable Willis Wing, the agent. He is first class, and so is the publishing house. All addresses are in the contract. Please mail the contract and cable to me here, and they will be held for my return.

Yours truly,

Peter Muir

The Quaid was unable to do the writing due to pre-occupation. Willis Kingsley Wing reminded the Quaid from time to time. The last letter which he wrote is dated March 21, 1944. He was rather upset that he had not heard anything from the Quaid:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am still without any word from you about the Doubleday Doran contract which we sent to you many months ago. I have written you since on several occasions, but up to date have heard nothing.

I have just discussed the whole question again with Doubleday, who remain very interested in having you do a book along the lines originally contemplated. Both the publisher and I are distinctly enthusiastic, but are disturbed by not having any word about this up to now.

If you have decided that you prefer to write the book before signing the contract, I should very much like to know of this at the earliest, preferably by cable. If you have signed the contract and it has been sent, the probabilities are that it has been lost somewhere in the mails; and I shall be glad, on receipt of a cable, to see that duplicate contracts are forwarded to you at once.

If, on the other hand, you've decided not to go ahead with the project at all, would you be good enough to inform me and return the unsigned contracts to me here at your convenience?

In my latest discussion with Doubleday they reiterated that they are deeply interested in a book on the Moslem World, and they can think of no one better qualified than you to do it.

Faithfully,

Willis Kingsley Wing

The Quaid replied to him on May 20, 1944, from Srinagar:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 21st 1944, and while I thank you very much indeed for the great interest you are taking in asking me to write a book along the lines originally contemplated, much as I would like to undertake this work, I regret that at present my commitments are so numerous and political developments are taking place in India so rapidly that I find it very difficult to commit myself and sign a contract. I may, however, inform you that I have already collected some material, and if I can manage to complete the book, I will certainly get in touch with you. I have not signed the contracts which have been sent to me, for the simple reason that I could not commit myself. You need not, therefore, send me duplicate

contracts. As regards the original contracts, they are probably in Bombay amongst my papers; and as I am now travelling and unlikely to return to Bombay till the end of July, I am unable to return the unsigned contracts at present. I am very grateful indeed both to Doubleday and yourself for the deep interest you have evinced in a book on the Moslem World, and I assure you that if I can make some contribution, I will not hesitate to do so.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

The editor of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, a quarterly review published from New York, requested the Quaid on March 6, 1945, for an article:

My dear Sir,

You may remember that four or five years ago we invited you to prepare an article for FOREIGN AFFAIRS, setting forth the Moslem view of how India might best attain her aspirations. You wrote me encouragingly in reply, but we have not heard from you since then. I still feel that an authoritative statement, such as one which you could make, would be most helpful to American public opinion; and this letter is to tell you that it would still be welcome in FOREIGN AFFAIRS. We have printed articles in the past from Pandit Nehru; and our forthcoming issue, dated April 1945, will carry an article by Dr. Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia under the title "Reconciliation in India". We obviously need an article from you in order to round out our presentation of Indian points of view, and especially to give your position regarding both religious and political problems of India, as they affect current proposals for federal union and the other schemes for settling the future of India by peaceful means. I can assure you that your views would be read with the greatest

interest in this country, and that your message would carry far.

Yours very sincerely,

Hamilton Fish Armstrong

The Quaid replied to him on May 14, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 6th, 1945, and I regret that I was not able to attend to it earlier owing to my indisposition. Although I am much better, I am at present advised to have complete rest for at least a couple of months, and, therefore, I have to attend only to very urgent matters that arise from time to time. Besides, normally it is not possible for me, really, to undertake to write an article for the FOREIGN AFFAIRS, much as I would like to, as I am very much pressed for time, and I have to attend to my duties as the President of the All India Muslim League and the fast moving events and developments that are taking place in India and abroad. I think our point of view has been more than once made clear, and there is a lot of literature already in existence on the subject. But I quite appreciate your suggestion; and I would have availed myself of it to once more put our point of view through an influential journal like the FOREIGN AFFAIRS but for the reasons I have given above.

I am sending you, under separate cover, the publication as a result of my meeting with Mr. Gandhi last September, and the correspondence which took place between him and me, and my speeches delivered at the last two sessions of the All India Muslim League at Delhi and Karachi, which will give you a fairly good idea of the issues involved in the solution of India's problem of her future constitution.

Yours faithfully,

In early years, only a few writers from abroad, prominent among them Beverley Nichols and Sir John Evelyn Wrench, understood the Muslim League case and were sympathetic to the concept of Pakistan. Sir John Evelyn Wrench, who for long edited THE SPECTATOR, came to India in 1941 at a time when the World War had reached a turning point, and the constitutional problems in India required immediate solution. He called on the Quaid and had a lengthy interview with him. It was published in February 28, 1942 issue of THE SPECTATOR. In subsequent years Sir John remained in contact with the Quaid. Four of his letters addressed to the Quaid during 1944-45 are available. In the letter dated November 22, 1944, Sir John informed the Quaid about his getting back to England safely, and sent a clipping from the NEW STATESMAN AND NATION of the week ending November 18, 1944, inviting the Quaid's attention to its contents:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

My wife and I got back safely to this country in August; and I have always meant to send you a line of good wishes for the New Year and to express the hope that all is going well with you.

I have just finished my book. It is due to be published about Easter, when I will send you a copy.

I do not know if anyone else has sent you a copy of this letter which appeared in the NEW STATESMAN for the week ending November 18th. Does this organisation amount to anything? It is the first I have heard of it.

With kind regards from my wife and myself to you and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,

Evelyn Wrench

The clipping reads:

PAKISTAN

SIR—Pakistan would be justified only on the basis of a universal Moslem demand. But all the Moslem organisations of India, except the League, have unanimously rejected it. The Ahrars, which is gaining strength so rapidly that Mr. Jinnah invited it to join the League, condemns it totally. The Khaksars and the Khudai-Khidmatgars are strong Moslem bodies, and are Congressite. The Jamiat-Ulema (Moslem Divines) has expressed itself against the Pakistan scheme. The Momins and the Shias, who together form the bulk of the Moslems in India, have never supported this idea of partition. These are undebatable facts. Unfortunately, however, they are not known in this country, and Pakistan is thought of as a general Moslem demand. Indeed, such was the indignation of the Moslem community at Mr. Gandhi's even countenancing Mr. Jinnah as the sole leader of the Indian Moslems that it formed in July an All-India Moslem Majlis in Delhi comprising all the Moslem parties of India as a challenge to the League. The President of this Conference declared on July 11th: "It is quite obvious that Mr. Jinnah or his League cannot face a plebiscite even in Moslem-majority provinces on the question of partitioning of India." Mr. Jinnah tacitly admitted this when he demanded that no Hindu shall vote.

Pakistan has been described in your columns as "the demand of the Moslem masses for their right to self-determination in cultural as well as in political fields". In fact, as we show above, all Moslem organisations with but one exception have rejected it. Self-determination has meaning only if religious communities can be shown to have different political interests. In other words, we come to the two-nations theory which Mr. Gandhi has so categorically refused to accept. Representing the vast majority of the Moslems in this country, as well as the Indian Congressmen, may we be permitted to associate ourselves with the Indian Moslem organisations in supporting Mr. Gandhi's refusal? The partitioning of India would not solve whatever differences we may have now, but by creating exclusive religious States would start us off on a period of religious wars.

S. A. SHAH
A. KLAN
D. M. SEN
A. GHANI

Indian National Muslim Committee,
8, White Church Lane,
London, E.1.

—THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION (NOVEMBER 18, 1944).

The Quaid acknowledged the letter on December 20, 1944. He pointed out that no such body existed, and that mushroom bodies were created to launch false propaganda against the Muslim League and the concept of Pakistan. The letter reads:

Dear Sir Evelyn,

I was very glad to receive your letter of November 22nd, and to find that Lady Wrench and you have reached home safely and are well. I shall certainly be looking forward to receiving a copy of your book, which you say you have just finished.

As regards the press cutting of a letter which has appeared in the NEW STATESMAN for the week ending November 18th, you ask me whether this organization amounts to anything. You have only got to look at the names of the signatories; and I echo that it is the first I have heard of it. This letter was reproduced in some Congress newspapers in India, and this is one more instance of how mushroom bodies are created and of the extent of false propaganda that is carried on in England against the Muslim League and the demands of Muslim India[13].

[13] The Indian National Congress dominated the press in India and had a very well-organized propaganda machinery abroad. They gave extensive publicity to every distorted and concocted news item which went against the League and the Quaid. An interesting incident happened on November 11, 1945, when the HINDU, Madras, which was an outstanding newspaper, published the following news item prominently:

GANDHIJI REAL LEADER OF MUSLIMS
JAMIAT SPOKESMAN DENOUNCES PAKISTAN

BANGALORE, Nov. 9. The modern Indian Musalman has yet to realise that his real leader is not Mr. Jinnah but Gandhiji who is the symbol of suffering India. If tested by the true standards of Islam, Gandhiji stands out as the true embodiment of real Islamic spirit, says Maulana Wald-uz-Zina, Vice-President of the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Delhi, and member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Majlis in a statement to the Press. Maulana Wald--uz-Zina arrived here yesterday in connection with the opening of a Theological College in Mysore.

Referring to Pakistan, Maulana Wald-uz-Zina says in it Mr. Jinnah was offering nothing but total ruin for the community. "Politically, it is a most impolitic scheme and the theory behind it is all the more absurd and dangerous."

Concluding, the Maulana warns Mr. Jinnah that all progressive forces in the country such as the Congress, Ahrars, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khaksars, Shias, Momins, Khudai Khidmatgars and in fact every true "munafiq" of the Millat was now determined to give a united fight to him (Mr. Jinnah) and his League, which had so long stood in the path of India's freedom.

Mr. Ghulam Mardood of Nellore, who saw Maulana Wald-uz-Zina recently decided to resign from the Muslim League and join the Muslim Majlis. He intends standing as a candidate for the Madras Legislative Assembly on the Muslim Majlis ticket and has already written to Mr. Allapichai in this connection, whom he would visit shortly in Madras.

However, I hope we shall survive all this, as falsehood can never succeed.

We wish Lady Wrench and you a happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

With a letter dated February 15, 1945, Sir John sent to the Quaid the typescript of an address given before the East India Association. The typescript is not available. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Very many thanks for your letter of December 20th and for telling me something of the organisation concerning which I wrote you.

I am enclosing a typescript of the address I gave to the East India Association on Tuesday last. As I spoke extempore, my remarks were not exactly the same as given in the enclosed, but more or less followed on these lines. I think the paragraph which I have marked in blue pencil on the second page may interest you.

My book, I fear, will not be out till May.

I hope all goes well with you and with Miss Jinnah, and with all good wishes and kind regards from my wife and myself.

Yours sincerely,

Evelyn Wrench

The Quaid acknowledged receipt of the typescript on April 8, 1945, and appreciated that the British opinion "is coming round to the Muslim League point of view":

Dear Sir Evelyn,

Many thanks for your letter of 15th February. I am sorry I was not able to attend to it earlier as I was not well.

I have received your typescript enclosed, and I am glad that slowly but surely the British public opinion is coming round to the Muslim League point of view that the only peaceful and lasting solution of India's problem is by dividing India and establishing Pakistan and Hindustan.

I am looking forward to read your book which you say will come out in May and I do hope that you will send me a copy.

With good wishes and kind regards from Miss Jinnah and me to both of you.

Hoping you are both well.

Yours sincerely,

Sir John wrote again to the Quaid on June 5, 1945, and reitereated that he was convinced about the justice of the Muslim cause:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for yours of April 8th. I was glad to read what you said. I am more than ever convinced that there will be no lasting solution of India's problem unless the Muslim point of view is fully recognized, and I have said as much in my book IMMORTAL YEARS, which will not be ready till next month. As I said, I will send you a copy.

With kind regards from my wife and myself to you and Miss Jinnah, and with all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Evelyn Wrench

In another letter which does not bear any date but was written in October, 1945, Sir John advised the Quaid about sending him his book IMMORTAL YEARS:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Under separate cover I have asked my publishers, Messrs. Hutchinson, to send you a copy of my new book, IMMORTAL YEARS, which is coming out on November 1st. It takes with it all good wishes, and I hope you may find it interesting.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Evelyn Wrench

* * *

A few months earlier, in the last quarter of 1944, VERDICT ON INDIA by Beverley Nichols had been published. A letter discloses that during an interview which J.S. Cama, who represented NEWS CHRONICLE of London, had with the Quaid on January 24, 1945, this book, too, came up for discussion. As a result some comments were made by the Quaid, which were transcribed, and the script was sent to Cama on the same day by the Quaid's Private Secretary. This letter reads:

Dear Mr. Cama,

As desired by Mr. Jinnah, I am enclosing herewith two copies of his interview with you for the NEWS CHRONICLE, London, and also two copies of his comments on Mr. Beverley Nichols's book VERDICT ON INDIA.

Yours truly,

A. Y. Syed

I do not have any copy of the comments, but a copy of the interview bearing the additions and corrections in Quaid's handwriting is available. This interview had not been published in the SPEECHES or in any other Collection. Its facsimile is reproduced:

In an exclusive interview for the "News Chronicle", London, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that "there is a large body of people in England who have not yet understood the real problem of India, and the Congress propaganda, which is so systematic and heavily financed and which is responsible for misleading not only England but America. The first and the foremost question, which very few people yet appreciate, is that the Hindu society is so caste-ridden that democracy is completely foreign and opposed to their very basic and fundamental principles and structure of their society. In everything that matters, namely the life, conduct and the condition of the people, the Hindus, Mr.Gandhi and Congress leaders firmly believe in the graded caste system, which consists not only of the four main castes, but numerous sub-castes. Among the four main castes, Sixty million people are considered Sudras or Untouchables. The remaining body of Hindus belonging to the other three castes are exclusive of each other, and the Brahmin-Bania combination constitutes the worst possible Hindu Imperialism. They want to substitute Hindu Imperialism and Hindu Raj for the British Raj. Very few foreigners can understand that a hundred million Muslims can never agree to the demands of the Hindu Congress, which will mean that a hundred million Muslims will be transferred from the British Raj and British Imperialism to the Hindu Raj and Hindu Imperialism of the Brahmin-Bania combination, which will have a perennial Hindu caste majority, if all India is united and a so-called parliamentary, democratic Constitution is introduced in this country. If such an attempt succeeds, then a hundred million Muslims will revolt, at their being sacrificed and let down by the British Government, who will be committing the grossest breach of faith with the Muslims because of their solemn declarations and pledges, which they have given them, that they will not be coerced in any way, nor could any Constitution be forced upon them by the British Government.

Cripps' offer while contemplating two or more dominions, and while accepting the principle which would give the right to Muslim dominant or Muslim majority provinces, which are Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F.P.; Punjab, Bengal and Assam to agree or not to agree to any Union Constitution which the Hindu majority may frame.— The procedure

~~mainly~~ because we were to be forced into a constitution-making body of All India, which was to be set up to frame the Union Constitution. The Union Constitution-making body was to consist of ten per cent of the present Provincial Legislatures, where according to the Communal Award, particularly in Bengal and the Punjab, which are the main units of Pakistan, the Muslims are in a minority in each House of Legislature, although according to population we are in a majority. In such a constitution-making body we shall be completely swamped, as the Muslim representation would be about 20 per cent, and if the Indian Princes sent in their representations (most of which are Hindu States), then our proportion of even 20 per cent will be considerably reduced. (2) ~~Now~~ The next hurdle was that after the union Constitution was framed by this body then the ~~of Muslim~~ provinces as they are constituted at present in their respective Legislatures, are ~~it was~~ given what was considered an opportunity to accede to the Union or not, and if 60 per cent of the whole Legislature of a province favoured Union, then the matter terminated. As I have already said, in Bengal and Punjab the Muslims are already in a minority in the whole House, and we are not prepared to submit to the slender and possible chance of our succeeding in ~~to~~ the House composed of 250 members in Bengal and 175 in the Punjab, that they should decide the future and the destiny of 100 million Muslims starting in both the Houses with a numerical minority position. (3) But if perchance 41 per cent were opposed to accession then the matter did not end there, but we were given another hudle to go through, and that is a mixed and promiscuous plebiscite of all the inhabitants of the Provinces. The demand is not a territorial demand but a Muslim national demand, and the mixed plebiscite was not only unjustified but owing to the powerful organized position of the Hindus and the financial and the Press backing at their Command ~~back~~ it was a dangerous position for us to accept, and that is why mainly the Cripps offer was rejected by us, for we were told that this proposal could not be discussed or modified, and we were presented with this attitude of the powerful British Government, namely "take it or leave it".

The question whether the Muslims should remain separate from the Hindu majority Provinces or not, must be left to their determination, as the demand comes from them, and they are a nation by every definition and by every notion which one can think of as a distinct

and separate nation living in the sub-continent. The question is a very simple one, when you boil it down. The Muslims certainly cannot wish to live under the domination of the British forever, and the British have made repeated declarations that they are willing to transfer authority and power of Government to the peoples of India, on the assumption that the British domination is to cease in this country and that we are to have our complete freedom and independence. If that be so, then the Muslims cannot agree to the change of Masters from the British to the Hindu-Brahmin Imperialist Raj, because it is sure as death that the position will be 3 votes against 1, which will mean, that one society distinct and different in every manner and life, with a perennial majority, will rule the other society, whose history, culture and everything that matters in life is totally different from the Hindus. Such a Government if set up can only be by force and coercion and will not last even for a few months, and will lead to disastrous r8sults, because it will constitute a cockpit of feuds and conflict regarding the culture, language and notions of civilisations of the two nations, and will affect their vital and fundamental interests.

There is only one solution to this and no other, and that is, that the Hindus must trust their minorities to Pakistan Government, and we must trust Hindus with our Muslim minorities, with all such safeguards as possible for any civilized Government to provide for. In that case, there will be a stable Government in Pakistan and Hindustan, ~~that is in the dominant Muslim and Hindu Provinces~~ respectively.

I was amused at the recent pronouncement of the Viceroy at Calcutta, at the gathering of the European Chamber of Commerce, when this soldier Viceroy was showing signs of shirking his responsibility, when he advised us to avoid, what he called a major operation of a division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. I wonder with whose advice or authority he has been creating this confusion. It struck me that he was merely trying to dope the Hindus and thereby was unnecessarily creating hostile feelings and alienating the ~~Hindus~~ Muslims, [illegible] ~~and~~ contrary to [illegible] the declared policy of the British Government which has accepted the principle of division and constitution of two or more dominions in response to the unequivocal demand backed up by 99 per cent of

Muslim India.

In the end, I must say that if the British Government in any way departs from their solemn declarations and pledges, which they have given from time to time after the outbreak of this war, to the Muslims, and if they make any attempt to sacrifice them or their interests, and let them down in any way whatsoever, in order to appease the Hindu Congress or Hindu leadership, it will be not only the grossest breach of faith, but an act of cowardice on their part. Such a dishonourable move on their part will not succeed, but I am confident that they will force a hundred million Muslims to revolt, as even a worm turns, and for the consequences that may follow the British Government will be responsible.

* * *

The Quaid commanded high respect not only as a politician but also as an authority on contemporary Muslim history. His reputation in this field extended far. Publishers of international standing, like Doubleday Doran of U.S.A., approached him for writing a book on the Muslim World. Likewise, a letter written by the late Grand Mufti of Palestine on October 12, 1945, reflects the high esteem in which the Quaid was held:

خاص ومكتوم

حضرة الأخ المسلم الكبير السيد محمد على جناح رئيس الرابطة الاسلامية المعظم حفظه الله

بومبي - الهند

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ، وبعد فاني أنتهز الفرصة الأولى لأكتب اليكم شاكراً لكم جهودكم المبرورة التي تقومون بها باستمرار لخدمة الاسلام والمسلمين لا في الهند فحسب بل في جميع الأقطار الاسلامية وفقاً

لدوام الله تعالى بالدعوة الإسلامية وبالتعاون ما بين المسلمين . وقد كان
لاهتمام مسلمي الهند بشؤون إخوانهم سواء كانوا في فلسطين أو طرابلس الغرب
أو سوريا أو جاوه أو غيرها أحسن الأثر في إحياء روح التعاون بين
المسلمين. وأود أن أشكر لكم وللرابطة الإسلامية بصورة خاصة تلك
العناية التي اختصصتموني بها . فقد كان صوتكم هو الصوت الإسلامي
الأول الذي وصل إلى أذني أثناء الاعتقال وحين كنت في ظروف
قاسية فكان له أحسن الأثر . وإني أؤكد لكم أن العالم الإسلامي
بأسره يقدر لكم وللرابطة الإسلامية مواقفكم وجهودكم المباركة المستمرة
في خدمة المسلمين، ويرغب من صميم القلب أن يبذل كل جهوده لمصلحة
إخواننا مسلمي الهند والتعاون معهم . ولذلك فإن من الضروري
أن يكون الاتصال بيننا مستمراً ومضموناً وسأحاول مع جميع إخواني
العاملين لخدمة الإسلام أن ننظم الاتصال والتعاون معكم على أكمل
وجه ممكن.

وأود بهذه الرسالة أن ألفت نظركم إلى خطورة الحالة في فلسطين،
وضرورة مناصرة المسلمين لها في جميع الأقطار . ففلسطين بلاد إسلامية مقدسة تخص
المسلمين جميعاً . وقضيتها قضية إسلامية عامة كما أن الاعتداء عليها هو
أيضاً لأسباب دينية محضة، فالقضية الصهيونية من أساسها قضية دينية،
واليهود يحاولون الاستيلاء عليها لدوافع دينية من أهمها استرداد هيكل
سليمان الذي يزعمون أنه مكان المسجد الأقصى المبارك نفسه، كما صرح
بذلك زعماؤهم المسؤولون مراراً . كما أن من أهم الأسباب التي
التي تحفز الإنكليز والأميركيين لمساعدة اليهود هي دينية، ولأجل

تحقيقه نجدات دينيه. ولذلك فان من همة المسلمين في سائر
الاقطار، بل من الواجب الديني المحتم عليهم ان يولوا هذه القضية
الاسلامية كل عنايتهم ويبذلوا في سبيلها جميع جهودهم.

ان صوت اخواننا مسلمي الهند صار له والحمد لله تأثير كبير
بفضل اخلاص العاملين المثابرين، ولا سيما في انكلترا ولذلك
فسيكون لمعاونتهم ولصوتهم فائدة عظمى.

ومن الضروري جداً لفت نظر انكلترا للفرق العظيم في
معاملتها لكل من العرب واليهود فهي قد اعتقلت وابعدت
واضطهدت زعماء مسلمي فلسطين. ففريق منهم معتقل في روديسيا
(جنوب افريقيا) وبعضهم في اوروبا، والكثير منهم مبعد في تركيا وفي
الحجاز والعراق ومصر وغيرها، حتى لم يبق في فلسطين من يستطيع
تمثيل المسلمين تمثيلاً وافياً" بينما هي لم تعتقل ولم تبعد احداً من
زعماء اليهود رغم ما قاموا به من اعتداءات وحشية، ورغم قتلهم اللورد
"موين"، وجرحهم السر ماكمايكل "المندوب السامي السابق ومن معه حين
حاولوا اغتياله، وقتلهم كثيراً من ضباط وجنود الشرطة والجيش
الانكليزي، ونسف دور الحكومة، ونهب مستودعات الاسلحة
الانكليزية، وغير ذلك من الاعمال الفظيعة، ورغم الخطب المثيرة
التي القاها بعض زعمائهم المتطرفين. فانكلترا تمنح اليهود
وزعماءهم وهيئاتهم كل الحرية والتسهيلات والمعاونات،
فهم يسافرون حيث شاؤوا ويمرحون في بلادنا كيفما ارادوا

ونحن واخواننا نعاني الاعتقالات والابعاد ولا يسمح لنا
بالعودة والاقامة في بلادنا . فهذا التحيز الظاهر لليهود
والمحاباة الشديدة بالعرب ومعاملتهم [illegible] وصل الى درجة
لا تطاق .

٤ ذي القعدة ١٣٦٤ [illegible]

The English translation of the Arabic text of the letter reads:

I take this opportunity for the first time to write to you thanking you for your valuable efforts that you are making continuously for the services of Islam and Muslims, not only in India but all the Islamic countries, according to the command of God for Islamic brotherhood and cooperation between the Muslims; and also for the keen interest which the Muslims of India take in the affairs of their brethren whether in Palestine, Tripoli, Syria and Java, etc., which has produced the result to revive the spirit of cooperation between the Muslims; and I would like to thank you and the Muslim League in particular for the great attention you have accorded to me, because your voice was the first Islamic voice that has reached my ears during my exile and when the circumstances were so very hard, and it had the best impression; and I would affirm to you that the whole of the Islamic world values your and the Muslim League's stand and admires your continuous blessed efforts in the services of the Muslims, and they wish from the bottom of their hearts to concentrate their efforts for the benefit of their Muslim brethren in India and to cooperate with them. Therefore, I find it very essential that a contact between us should be constant and secured, and I will do my best with all my brethren who are working for the service of Islam to organise the contact and the cooperation with you in the most perfect possible way.

With this message of mine, I would like to draw your attention to the graveness of the situation in Palestine and the necessity of the support from the Muslims of all the countries, because Palestine is the holy Islamic country and belongs to all the Muslims; and its cause is an all-Islamic cause, as well as the aggression upon it is also only for purely religious causes, because the Zionist movement is principally a religious movement; and the Jews are trying to put their hold on Palestine for religious motives,

the most important of which is to recapture the Temple of Solomon which they allege was in the place of the Holy Aqsa Mosque itself, as has been declared openly by their responsible leaders repeatedly, so also of the most important reasons that moved the British and the Americans for their assistance of the Jews is a religious cause and for the realisation of some religious prophecies. Therefore, it is the right of the Muslims in all the countries, rather it is their religious duty which is binding on them to give their best attention to this Islamic cause and to direct all their efforts in this cause.

The voice of our Muslim brethren of India, thanks to God, had the greatest effect, and thanks to the sincerity of the untiring workers, especially in England; and therefore a great benefit will result of their cooperation and voice.

It is most essential to draw the attention of the British to the great difference between the treatment meted out to the Arabs and the Jews, as the Arabs have been imprisoned and deported and oppressed. Many Muslim leaders of Palestine, some of whom have been deported to Rhodesia (South Africa), some to Europe, and many in Turkey, the Hedjaz, Iraq and Egypt, etc., untill there remained no one in Palestine to really represent the Muslims. On the other hand, they did not imprison or deport any of the leaders of the Jews in spite of the great ugly assaults made by them, and in spite of their having assassinated Lord Moyne and injured Sir Michael, the British High Commissioner there, and those who were with him in their endeavours to kill them. Also the many murders of the officials and men of the British Police and Army committed by them, the destructions of Government buildings and looting of British ammunition dumps and several other atrocities. And also, in spite of the incendiary speeches delivered by some of their extremist leaders, the British are giving the Jews, their leaders and their organisation full freedom, facility and assistance, and thus they are travelling wherever they want and they are enjoying in our country as they like, and we and our brethren are suffering the hardships of imprisonment and deportation, and they do not allow us to return and stay in our country; and so, this clear partiality to the Jews and the unjust suppression of the Arabs and their leaders has reached unbearable limits.

4th Zilkada 1364 — Syed Mohamed Amin Alhuseini

12th October 1945 — Grand Mufti of Palestine

* * *

In the early phase of his struggle for uniting the Muslims on one platform, the Quaid faced great disadvantage because of lack of support from the press. The Muslim papers generally belonged either to that group which toed the line laid down by the persons in power or those who supported the Congress. Newspapers like INQILAB, SIYASAT, HAQIQAT, HAQ, on the one hand, and MADINA, ALJAMIAT, ANSARI on the other, held opposite views, but were united in supporting the anti-League forces.

The Quaid realized the need for having a powerful press for propagating the cause for which the All India Muslim League stood. Accordingly, he founded the MANSHOOR as a weekly in the beginning of 1938. It was converted into a daily on December 25, 1944. The DAWN was brought out on October 19, 1941, as a weekly. It became a full-fledged daily on October 12, 1942. I was the publisher of both the papers.

When by the end of 1946 these newspapers had acquired a sound financial standing, the Quaid, by a deed executed before the Registrar on November 19, 1946, created a charitable Trust and transferred their ownership to it. The Quaid mentioned in the deed about having received contributions amounting to Rs. 1.57 lakh from various persons and having purchased out of the amount, machinery and other paraphernalia for the papers. The Quaid himself was the sole *Mutawalli* and had the power to apply the income and profits for running, maintaining, developing and equipping the DAWN and MANSHOOR, and for establishing more newspapers in other parts of the Subcontinent. Another important aim of the Trust was to provide training and education in journalism to suitable young men.

The Trust, however, could not bring out any other newspaper, as after only a few months Pakistan came into existence. Earlier, before its formation a good number of newspapers had come out, one or two appearing from nearly all the provincial capitals.

Some correspondence is available which reflects the Quaid's interest in creating and developing a strong Muslim press.

* * *

The MANSHOOR, official organ of the Muslim League, was brought out in the beginning of 1938 as a weekly. It was converted into a daily on December 25, 1944. The daily MANSHOOR achieved a wide circulation in a short time. Hasan Reyaz was its editor from the very beginning. Its editorial staff consisted of Tufail Ahmed Jamali, Ayub Kirmani and Khalique Naziri.

Some letters written by Hasan Reyaz to the Quaid, along with his replies, are available. The first letter in the series is dated October 2, 1941. After referring to the arrangements for bringing out the DAWN as a weekly on October 19, Hasan Reyaz expressed the view that instructions by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan for printing

UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND DIRECTION OF NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, THE HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

on its masthead were uncalled for. He was perhaps not aware that the Working Committee of the League had taken the decision to that effect. The letter reads:

Dear Sir,

The initial arrangements of the DAWN are now complete. The first issue is appearing on the 19th October. I wish and hope that it may come out a first class thing. It is very encouraging indeed that you are taking a keen interest in the making of the Muslim press.

Navabzada Lyakat Ali Khan wants that the following should appear on the first page of the DAWN: "Under the supervision and direction of Navabzada Lyakat Ali Khan, the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League." I must confess that I failed to understand the advisability of it. Every paper has its directors and supervisors but their names and the fact itself is concealed, much less advertized. Controlled press can be of no advantage to any people and specially when the fact is so loudly proclaimed. Be-

sides, this is superfluous when your name as the Founder of the paper is already there. This would be quite enough to enhance the prestige of the DAWN, to get subscribers from amongst the Indian Muslims, and to attract attention towards it of the British and American public without damaging its position as an independent weekly, for the founding of a paper does not suggest the control of its policy.

I am well aware that you are too busy. Nevertheless it would be a great thing should you be pleased to honour the DAWN with your contributions and exclusive statements occasionally. Navabzada Sahib may do likewise if he wants to help the paper in its growth by his influence and popularity.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

Hasan Reyaz

The Quaid replied on October 8, 1941:

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd of October and I propose to reach Delhi about the middle of October as at present advised, and will discuss the matter further when I am there.

Yours sincerely,

The next letter is dated May 1, 1943, in which Hasan Reyaz discussed various measures for improving the MANSHOOR:

Dear Sir,

I take this opportunity to congratulate you, if I may, on your great speech you delivered as the President in the sessions. It is your masterpiece. Every Musalman is feeling proud of you.

Now as the scheme of developing MANSHOOR is before you, I feel it my duty as the editor to supply you with necessary data that may help you in taking decisions.

MANSHOOR contains eight pages. Out of these eight, four are allotted to the reports of activities of the All India Muslim League and its branches, the proceedings of the Working Committees and the Councils of the Central and Provincial Leagues, the statements and the speeches of the president of the All India Muslim League. The remaining four pages, *i.e.*, from first to fourth, contain weekly war review, editorial notes and leading articles. Everything written by the editor himself. News are never published in MANSHOOR as they become stale by the time it reaches its readers.

Four pages for editorial are too much for a small paper like MANSHOOR. No weekly in the world, however bulky it may be, devotes more than four pages to leading articles and editorial notes. But MANSHOOR sometime takes five. The reason for this is that MANSHOOR has been brought out with a special purpose in view. It has to give the Musalmans their own point of view in every current matter consistent with League ideals, and this has to be done within the restricted space and means given to it. Therefore, things not connected with League directly are being ignored.

Here the question arises of quality and standard of the leading articles. It is too awkward a matter for the editor to speak about himself. But he can give you here some information about his experience and qualifications. His record of service is as follows:

> Assistant editor of HAMDAM (of which the late Maharaja of Mahmoodabad was the Proprietor) in 1918.

Editor, MANSUR (bi-weekly), in 1920.

Editor, FATEH (daily) of Delhi, in 1921.

Assistant editor of HAMDARD (daily), of which the late Maulana Mohammad Ali was the Chief, in 1924.

Joint editor of HIMMAT (daily) of Lucknow, in 1929.

Editor-in-Chief of HIMMAT (daily), in 1930.

Editor, NAVEED (weekly), in 1933 till 1936.

With this experience and practice the editor of MANSHOOR struggled hard to bring MANSHOOR up to the level of the first class weeklies in England and America editorially. MANSHOOR being the official organ of the All India Muslim League, the editor has been fully alive to the importance of his work. He has been working all along to uphold the honour and prestige of his national organization through the high standard and dignified tone of its official organ. MANSHOOR has been very closely following the Leader of the Muslim League in its leading articles and to an extent that the intelligent readers have many times suspected that MANSHOOR published articles inspired by Mr. Jinnah.

You mentioned TULOO-I-ISLAM approvingly, during my visit to you last month. I also liked TULOO-I-ISLAM as a good instrument to fight Jamiat-ul-Ulema. But here I must tell you what is the difference between your MANSHOOR and TULOO-I-ISLAM. The leading articles of MANSHOOR are based on facts and arguments with the background of Islamic ethics, while TULOO-I-ISLAM based its case on dogmas and advocated it in demagogic manner. I am of the opinion that dogmaticism and demagogy is of no use in politics. It clouds the mind of the people and blunts their intelligence. We have

to create healthy public opinion and educate it to draw conclusions logically. This cannot be done by dogmatic and demagogic writings and speeches.

I must also tell you what is wanting in MANSHOOR. There are neither educative special articles in it nor anything of general interest. It is to make up this deficiency that I have asked you to develop it into a first class weekly.

Now I am waiting for your ringing me up, as you told me to do that day, to discuss the scheme and the arrangements in this connection.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

On October 21, 1943, Hasan Reyaz reported to the Quaid the progress made by the MANSHOOR:

Dear Sir,

I am writing this to you after an unusually long time. I did not like to disturb you when you had so badly needed rest. Thank God you are safe and fully recovered. Then came the month of fasting and after I'd I fell ill. I am not yet fully recovered.

Now I think I must give you some information about the development of MANSHOOR. First of all, we have been able to maintain our old clientele in spite of the fact that the yearly subscription and per copy price of the MANSHOOR have gone up very high; secondly the new subscribers are on increase. Although I am not certain, yet I think that MANSHOOR is not being run at a loss.

As for the editorial side of the paper, I know no adverse comment. Personally speaking I must say

that MANSHOOR has not yet reached the mark I have in view. For the first three months I had to do most of the writing myself. But I am glad to inform you that the MANSHOOR has now begun to attract good writers. I asked twice Mr. Perwez to write for MANSHOOR to no effect.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

The Quaid acknowledged it on November 4, 1943:

Dear Mr. Hassan Riyaz,

I have received your letter of the 21st of October 1943 and was glad to learn that MANSHOOR is getting on well. More when I am in Delhi and when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz wrote again on October 25, 1944, advising about the position of MANSHOOR and stating that because of the News-Paper Control Order its pages had been reduced to 6 from 16. He also commented on the Jinnah-Gandhi talks:

Dear Sir,

The Muslim India, as far as I see through the Urdu press, has come out wiser from the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. The Musalmans are now convinced, as never before, that you stand sincerely for the Hindu-Muslim unity and the independence of India; and Mr. Gandhi does not. The Musalmans are now generally of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi entered into negotiations with you just to find out if there was any possibility to bring you down from the position taken at Lahore by the Muslim League, or a handle to discredit the Muslim League and its leader among the Musalmans. He failed ignominously in his ignoble persuit, and

to his greater disappointment the way you tackled him, enhanced the pride and confidence in you of the Muslim India.

It is gratifying to note that the All India Muslim League has taken some initiative in nation-building departments through the Committee of Action and its sub-committees and is making progress. But the political activities of the League in the provinces still seem to be dull.

I have not written to you about MANSHOOR for a very long time. MANSHOOR is in the eclipse for the last four months because of the paper order of the Government of India of 12th June, 1944. Under this order the number of pages of the MANSHOOR have been reduced from 16 to 6 only. The whole progress which was made during the one year of its new life has been reversed. Surely we were powerless when the Government of India rejected our application for making it a daily; but the quota of newsprint could be had within a week's time or two for weekly MANSHOOR, as many other such weeklies of no importance could get for themselves, as were printed previously on Indian manufactured paper like MANSHOOR and had been effected by the said Government order, but, I am sorry to say that we have been slack.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

The Quaid acknowledged it on November 8, 1944:

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

Many thanks for your letter of October 25th. I was very much encouraged by the report you have given me regarding my talks with Mr. Gandhi.

With regard to MANSHOOR, my information is that we are at it and doing our best, and I hope that we will see the result of our efforts very soon. I am going to be in Delhi till the end of this month, and if you will kindly ring me up, I will fix up an appointment, when we can have a talk about MANSHOOR and the situation generally.

Yours sincerely,

On December 13, 1944, Hasan Reyaz wrote to the Quaid about the completion of arrangements for bringing out the MANSHOOR as daily and requested him for a message:

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

Necessary arrangements are in progress and I hope we shall be able to bring out the opening number of MANSHOOR daily on or about the 25th instant. Would you very kindly send a message to be published in the first number. I hope you would not mind snatching a few moments for this purpose from your very busy hours.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

The message was sent on 21st December, 1944, from Bombay, by the Quaid. His letter reads:

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

I am in receipt of your letter of December 13th, and I have much pleasure in sending you herewith a message for publication in the first number of the daily MANSHOOR.

Wishing the paper every success.

Yours sincerely,

The message reads:

I am very glad to know that the weekly MANSHOOR is shortly coming out as a daily. The services which it has rendered to the Musalmans, and particularly to the Muslim League, during the past few years of its existence, are considerable, and I hope it will continue its task of serving the Muslim public and advocating our national cause with redoubled vigour, as being now a daily newspaper, its scope will be considerably increased. I am confident that it will not fail in its duties to the Muslim nation.

Muslim India is fully alive to the necessity of having a strong and powerful press of its own, Urdu as well as English, and I need not emphasize the desirability of every Muslim doing his bit in strengthening the Muslim press.

I wish the daily MANSHOOR a bright future and I hope that it will soon find its place amongst the leading dailies of this country.

Meanwhile salary of Hasan Reyaz as editor of the daily MANSHOOR was not fixed according to his wishes. He wrote to the Quaid about the matter on March 18, 1945:

Dear Sir,

I have been working here for the last six years and some months. During this considerably long period I have never spoken or written to you anything concerning my personal interests. Truly speaking, I have always considered these matters much too insignificant to give them any thought myself or to bother you about; and, but for a smal lincident which has hurt my feelings I would not have written to you on this subject at all. However, I am writing this letter to you only with a view to furnishing you with a report of bare facts on which I choose to make no comments whatsoever.

As you will remember, about two and a half years ago you expressed to me your desire to develop the MANSHOOR and asked me to draw up a scheme

in this behalf. I drafted two schemes, one for weekly and the other for daily—and submitted them to you for your consideration.

As every item, including editor's salary had to be shown in the scheme I put in an amount which appeared to me equitable and fair at that time. However, I mentioned to you that it had been an awkward task for me to propose an amount as editor's salary and assured you at the same time that so far as I was concerned I would be prepared to welcome anything you proposed. I still adhere to those words of mine and shall always stand by them. There can be no change in my attitude towards my leader.

After sometime you decided to develop the MANSHOOR into a first class daily and the opening number came out on the fixed date, *i.e.*, the 25th December which is your auspicious birthday.

Nawabzada Sahib, Mr. Mahmood Hasan and myself met twice before that date to consider matters relating to the appointment of staff and their salaries as well as other necessary arrangements. All these matters were settled during these two meetings; but so far as my salary is concerned neither Nawabzada Sahib made any mention of it nor did I.

On the 11th January Nawabzada Sahib proceeded to Madras and after three weeks' tour of Southern India, came back to Delhi on the 5th of February.

I rang him on the 6th as I had to consult about various matters concerning MANSHOOR. He told me that he would ring me up as soon as he found time. It is about a month and a half since, and I am still waiting for his ringing me up. On the 7th February the clerk concerned brought to me a voucher for my signature. From that voucher I came to know for the

first time that I was to get Rs. 250/-, *i.e.*, Rs. 50/- more than what I had been drawing as the editor of the weekly MANSHOOR. I told the clerk quietly to leave the voucher with the Manager for the time being until I wrote to him anything about it. Next day I wrote a letter to the Nawabzada about the matter, suspecting some misunderstanding.

Nawabzada Sahib in reply to my letter wrote to me that the General Manager told him that he had discussed the matter with me (Hasan Riyaz) and I (Hasan Riyas) agreed to accept Rs. 300/- including the rent of the rooms. My surprise really knew no bound as it was a gross misrepresentation. He made no proposal to me on behalf of the Director or himself as the manager and I never accepted any. I wrote back to Nawabzada Sahib decrying all that as fabrication pure and simple, but to no avail.

I may be allowed to mention here for your information that ever since my taking up the editorship of the MANSHOOR I have been in occupation of two rooms of the League Office building. When the MANSHOOR was developed into a regular weekly in May 1942 my salary was fixed at Rs. 250/- but I was actually given only Rs. 200/-, Rs. 50/- p.m. being deducted from my pay for occupying two rooms of a house, the total rent whereof is Rs. 65/- per month. The same thing continues and I am told that my salary has been fixed at Rs. 300/- but so long as I occupy the rooms in the League Office building I shall be given Rs. 250/- p.m.

What has hurt my feelings is not that Nawabzada Sahib sent me Rs. 250/- instead of Rs. 500/-. So far as the question of amount is concerned I can only say that a man who had worked ungrudgingly for six years on an honorarium of Rs. 100/- could continue on Rs. 200/- for any length of time without any increment whatsoever. But to evaluate the difference at Rs. 50/-

between the labour and responsibility of editing a weekly and that of editing a first class up-to-date 'daily' is really beyond comprehension; and when done without consulting the person concerned, as has been in my case, it becomes deeply distressing and rather hard to put up with. Even the meanest labourer has a right to be consulted about his wages; but Nawabzada Sahib would not concede to me even this small privilege.

Of course you can settle anything about me and on my behalf as my accredited leader, and that would be most welcome to me as your humble follower, volunteer and worker. But that is a right which nobody else can claim on me and this is a matter of faith, not of logic.

However, I would respectfully like to mention once again that I consider this question as closed and am writing this letter with no other view than to acquaint you with facts. I would also like to reassure you of my unflinching loyalty and implicit faith in you and in the cause for which you stand. I shall ever consider it my duty and privilege to do my little bit for the *Millat* in the manner you desire and order me to do.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

He did not post the letter, but sent it to the Quaid along with another letter on October 1, 1945. In his letter of October 1, he discussed the question of his salary as well as complained about the behaviour of Mahmood Hassan, who was General Manager of the MANSHOOR and DAWN:

Dear Sir,

I am writing this after a very long time. For some time I was under a self-imposed ban because

of your health. After that the state of affairs here did not allow me to write. Now, though belated, I want to preface my unusually long letter with my usual reports.

The Musalmans of India are showing signs of wonderful development of political sense in them, both individually and collectively, since the Simla Conference. They appreciated your marvellous Simla stand like a grown up nation. They are feeling very proud of your wonderful move, which made the so-called national Provisional Government an obsolete idea, with full consciousness that you by-passed the clever Hindu leadership which was making for *coup d'etat* through the back door.

Now they are responding to your appeal for funds with a religious zeal. It is really in your leadership that the Musalmans have developed a taste for politics undiluted from Mullaism.

Your Eid message this year excelled all the previous ones. It really thrilled the Musalmans and endeared you, greatly still, among them. I congratulate you on that, if I may.

The recent declaration of the British Government, as far as I can see is retrograde, though in this respect that they have not reiterated the promise made to the Musalmans that no machinery for the constitution-making and the constitution itself would be valid without the consent of the Musalmans. They have tried to meet some of the objections raised by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in its resolution of April 1942 against the Cripps' Proposals. There would be a consultation about the formation, powers and procedure of the constitution-making body and alternative or amended schemes will be considered. But how the Viceroy will select or get elected the representatives of the Legisla-

tures for consultation and draw his conclusions, that is a question.

Now something about the MANSHOOR which I have been avoiding to write so far. The MANSHOOR is now nine months old as a daily. Its circulation is above four thousand. It might have been double this number by this time had our despatch and distribution were properly organised. This most important department of the MANSHOOR and the DAWN both is hopeless. I have never seen such a clamour against irregular despatch and distribution of any paper before. We have one stock argument against every complaint—the difficulties of printing press. Difficulties of printing we, no doubt, have, but everything is not due to it.

The MANSHOOR is also not getting enough advertisements yet. This important source of income is not receiving due attention in the case of the MANSHOOR by the management.

As for the MANSHOOR as a paper, I can only say that it is not quite up to the mark yet, I have in view. It still requires much to be done. But I very much doubt that I would ever be allowed to do all that. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Director, has little or no interest in the MANSHOOR; and the manager is too interfering in the editorial affairs. He is out to dominate the editors. His lust for power and authority knows no bound. He is hampering the progress of the paper, by interfering in the editorial matters and neglecting his own duties.

You will be surprised to know that I have been able to see the Director only three or four times during the last nine months, in spite of my repeated requests to do so. The MANSHOOR is left entirely on the mercy of the manager.

The first matter I was called by the Nawabzada through the manager to discuss after my persistent requests just about a week before we started the MANSHOOR daily was, to fix the number of my staff and their scale of pay. I had proposed twelve members for the editorial staff in my original scheme, including the local reporters. In that discussion, the Nawabzada reduced that number to six, including myself. I had to give way. But during the very first week, it became clear to me that it was impossible to carry on with that staff. I explained the position to Nawabzada Sahib by reducing the whole work into hours and minutes; and he was fully convinced that I was short of hands. He allowed me two more translators in spite of the opposition from the manager. The manager felt annoyed at this and is trying in every way possible to reduce my staff again to six. By the way, I respectfully inform you that the strength of the editorial staff of the DAWN is thirteen.

Next came the question of my pay as the editor of the DAILY MANSHOOR. The manager got that matter settled as he liked with the Nawabzada without any reference to me. I wrote a letter to you at the very time, reporting the matter, but I witheld it as you were not well. Now I enclose the same letter herewith for your kind perusal if and when you feel inclined to do so.

This is extraordinary, indeed, that the manager should have a say in the matter of fixing the salary of the Editor-in-Chief or the strength of the editorial staff.

We have been given no teleprinter. We get our news from the A.P.I. office through our office peon. Therefore we cannot publish the news which are received in the A.P.I. office after 11 o'clock in the night; while other papers can put in the news till 3.30 a.m.

We have got no local reporter.

We have got only one peon, while the DAWN office has got about a dozen.

I cannot get my post direct. The managerial clerk receives it and sends me only once in 24 hours at midday. All the urgent matters requiring prompt attention of the editor rest suspended till then.

I have been allowed no imprest money. Once I purchased three books for Rs. 14/-, but the manager refused to pay the bill. I had to pay it from my own pocket. We have got no reference books or any books whatsoever.

We have not been provided even with a cheap time-piece to regulate our timetable.

The manager, as he has got full control of money, incites the members of my staff to insubordination.

If I engage any outsider, or put any member of my permanent staff to do double duty in case of emergency such as sometimes arises when more than one member of my staff go on leave, the manager refuses to pay for that.

I drew the attention of Nawabzada Sahib in August last, and also later on, towards this state of affair and many others, both personally and in writing. He was fully convinced and he promised me to put things in order; but nothing has come to pass yet. I rang him many times, but he avoids seeing me. I am told that the manager threatened him of his resignation from the managership of the MANSHOOR, and he got unnerved.

Not only the manager but his clerks are bullying me. Ziauddin, a clerk in the DAWN, whom I had engaged on Rs. 50 p.m., when I was managing the

WEEKLY DAWN just for love of labour and the interest I had in the paper, asked me to appoint one of his relatives as my assistant in the MANSHOOR. I refused to do so because the man was not fit for the job. Again he asked me to accept his own articles on payment. I refused this also. Since then he is doing constant propaganda in conjunction with the local Urdu journalists who aspire for the editorship of the MANSHOOR or a job in the staff. I am reliably informed that this fellow, certainly with the connivance of the manager, gets not less than forty letters every day containing allegations against me despatched to Nawabzada Liakat Ali Khan through the different agencies. There is a regular blitz going on against me. I drew the attention of the Nawabzada towards all this, but to no avail.

I and my staff are labouring in sheer helplessness. I have no alternative left but to seek your protection against the managerial high-handedness and the Director's apathy.

Apologizing for this long tiring letter, I wish you good health, long life and success in your great mission.

Yours sincerely,

Hasan Reyaz

The Quaid replied on October 31, 1945:

Dear Mr. Hasan Reyaz,

Many thanks for your letter of October 1st, and I am sorry I was not able to reply to you earlier. I was moving from place to place, and it did not reach me for a long time; and while I was in Karachi I was over-pressed with engagements. I have read your letter

carefully, and I hope to see you when I am in Delhi and consider what can be done in the matter.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

DAWN was brought out as a weekly on October 19, 1941. Ahmed Hasan was its editor with Z.A. Suleri and Aziz Beg as members of the staff. It was printed at the Muslim League Printing Press, which I owned, and where most of the League literature was printed.

Within a short while the WEEKLY DAWN achieved a circulation of about 5,000. It was a remarkable progress. The Quaid wished to convert the weekly into a daily. He had sufficient funds for the purpose; but he hesitated. A good editor was not available. In a few months time he chose Pothan Joseph for the task. Pothan Joseph joined the DAWN on October 1; and on October 12, 1942, the first issue of the daily came out. It was printed at the Latifi Press, and, later in 1946, when machinery had been purchased, at its own press which was called as Dawn Press.

During the editorship of Pothan Joseph the DAWN made a phenomenal progress. The critical analysis of the events made by him in his editorials, and scathing satires contained in his column—OVER A CUP OF TEA—made the DAWN a paper par excellence.

Like any other organization, DAWN, too, in the beginning, faced difficult situations. A letter which Pothan Joseph wrote to the Quaid on February 1, 1943, only a few months after his joining DAWN, enumerated some difficulties:

My dear Chief,

Since it was at your insistence and on the claim of old associations that I left Calcutta and came to Delhi as editor of DAWN, I have the right of making a personal representation to you before things are too late for retrieval.

When we began, it was understood that DAWN would be housed after one month in a respectable building free from lead-vapour and unsavoury surroundings. Suitable buildings have slipped our hands; and now on February 1 we are still far from the conditions necessary for efficiency. Allow me to be frank. Nawabzada is all enthusiasm for the paper, but he cannot spend more than a limited time every day over its affairs. When a newspaper is launched, it must be left to an experienced editor and an experienced manager, as you remember in the case of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE—Mr. Horniman as editor and Buckle as manager—Buckle was solely concerned with printing, circulation, distribution, advertisement, etc., without any literary or political ambitions nor any notion that he should devote part of his time in improving and moulding national policy through the columns of the paper.

The state of DAWN today, after three months, is that there is complete chaos in the management of the paper. People who have paid their subscriptions complain that they do not see it; agents who have paid their deposits clamour. It is an open scandal in Delhi that the management of the paper is in a mess. I cannot spend my time answering complaints. Believe me, I'm with you loyally in seeking the success of DAWN; but a bird cannot fly far on one wing. Mr. Mahmud Hassan, who had come from Madras, had no experience of organizing the managerial production of a first class daily newspaper—he has not had even the experience of a sub-editor of a daily newspaper for six months. He was the joint editor of DECCAN TIMES, and had come to Delhi looking for a big literary career. In fact he came to me the other day expressing his wish to write as his "pen was getting rusty". As for writing, Abraham and I can stagger along until one of us requires a holiday or falls ill. As manager, he has to conceal his ignorance and still look active.

The organizing of a daily newspaper requires technical knowledge, not amateurish experimentation. Mr. Mahmud Hassan has had no business experience at all; and the DECCAN TIMES is still an ordinary weekly of leisured production.

When I joined the STAR OF INDIA, Hassan Ispahani used to spend half an hour in the morning on his way to Ezra Street, with us. Because of his business methods and uncommon intelligence, during half an hour he could dispose of work that would engage five hours time on the part of drudges. He made decisions, cut out waste, and he knew where we were. Occasionally we had our tiffs, but where I felt he was wrong I was confident of getting round him; and today I sit brooding whether the bombs of Calcutta are not better than the lead fumes of the Latifi Press and the editorial hutment of DAWN which you want to see alive competing with the STATESMAN, as you announced in the last meeting of the All India Council.

You will ask me what should be done. With due deference to all concerned, I suggest that you ring up Francis Low or H.W. Smith or Cama or N.J. Hamilton to recommend you the name of some person who has had at least 10 years experience in the management of a daily newspaper; one who knows where machines are found; one who knows how books should be kept; one who knows of labour-saving devices in office routine, etc., etc. Owing to paper shortage some experienced men are bound to be on the loose. Let it be a Parsee or an Anglo-Indian or a Goan or anybody else, but for goodness sake, let it be a man who knows the ropes, who is not slothful, who knows his own mind and minds his own business.

Unless we hurry up we shall come a cropper, and my dear Chief, I don't write as an alarmist or a back-biter. You will be here on February 8, I hear,

but this letter will reach you in time to save DAWN from the crash that is beetling over your beloved institution, unless you interfere and produce an expert manager who will in two months repair the remissness of months. As far as I am concerned, this has been a terrible ordeal for me. Instead of the manager quietly arranging for an independent press, the news somehow reached the contractor, Khan Sahib Latifi, that we are to quit. Naturally, he has become indifferent and the paper suffers.

It was said by Renan that "the study of the Book of Revelations finds a man mad or leaves him mad". I feel that my acceptance of the editorship of DAWN found me mad or must leave me mad. Do something.

Yours very sincerely,

Pothan Joseph

The Quaid replied on February 10, 1943:

Dear Mr. Pothan Joseph,

I have received your letter of the 1st instant and also I have received a letter from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, to whom you had sent a copy of your letter, and it is very difficult for me to go into this matter from here; but I am coming to Delhi very soon and we should see what can be done in the matter. In the meantime, I hope that you will put your heads together and carry on. Never despair.

With very kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

In a few months these difficulties were over. In his next letter dated October 4, 1943, Pothan Joseph did not make any reference to them. On the other hand, he wanted the Quaid to declare, on

completion of one year of DAWN's existence, a bonus of one month's salary to the staff for their encouragement:

My dear Chief,

Thank you for your last letter touching certain changes discussed about the future of the Federal Court.

I had occasion last week to pay a visit to Calcutta at the instance of Mr. Ispahani. He wanted me to see certain things for myself in connection with the famine and the political exploitation the Opposition makes of it. The Ministry is working hard to relieve the situation which is going to be difficult and perhaps might turn worse until the new crop is harvested in December. Mr. Suhrawardy is at his task night and day, and the Secretariat staff have to begin early and end very late every day. Mr. Ahmed Ispahani told me that if I wrote to you I must make the request that some Muslim workers should be despatched to Bengal to lend a hand, as local men are too few. I think the Civil Defence Committee should regard the crisis in Bengal as an opportunity for service.

I had a difficult decision to take on a certain matter. Mr. Ispahani wanted me to prepare a pamphlet on behalf of the Government of Bengal, dealing with the allegations made about the rice purchases of Messrs. M.M. Ispahani Ltd. I went through the material; and as far as I could see, it was a case of political malice prompting the attack. Bengal politics is so full of personalities that a pamphlet written by me on such a commercial matter (for the sake of a consideration) might, I fear, be followed up with another course of mud-slinging in the press and interpretations in the Assembly about the nature of my commission. I, therefore, suggested that the Information Department of the Government should issue a

pamphlet of their own instead of my being in it at all. I do not think Mr. Ispahani could appreciate my standpoint, but this is what happened; and I thought the matter must be made known to you.

DAWN completes one year on October 12, and we are looking forward to a message from you. The accounts of the year are being audited upstairs, and from the financial angle there cannot be any cause for disappointment. Indeed I feel that you will be gratified at the progress made. May I make a suggestion? It will be a handsome stroke of encouragement to the staff if you give them a bonus of one month's salary on the completion of the first year, *i.e.*, on our anniversary day. (The HINDUSTAN TIMES has incidentally given a bonus of one month's salary in the last week, the second time this year. I do not mention this as an argument; but you might consider my recommendation on its merits and decide.)

I hope you are fit and look forward to meeting you in Delhi towards the middle of the month.

Yours very sincerely,

Pothan Joseph

The Quaid appreciated the views expressed by Pothan Joseph. His reply which bears the date October 12, 1943, reads:

Dear Mr. Pothan Joseph,

Many thanks for your letter of the 4th of October 1943.

While I fully appreciate the feelings of Mr. Ispahani with regard to the unfounded allegations that were made against the integrity of his firm, the question is: what is the best course for them to adopt and how we can help them. You must have learnt by now that some of our leading men, including

the Chairman of the All India Muslim League Civil Defence Committee and the Secretary of the All India Muslim League are going to Bengal, and I have no doubt that amongst other matters they will consider this question also.

With regard to your writing a pamphlet, I am glad that you hold the view that if any such pamphlet is to be issued, it should be done by the Information Department of the Government, as it might have embarrased DAWN whose editor you are, had you undertaken such a work. I fully appreciate the feelings and sentiments of Mr. Ahmed and the firm that he represents against those who are making serious allegations; and as far as it can be judged there are no warrants for them.

With regard to DAWN and its completion of one year's life, I have already sent my message and I am glad to hear from you that from the financial point of view you think that there will be no cause for disappointment. I have communicated your suggestion about giving bonus to the staff to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and have wired to him to the effect that if the financial position in his opinion warrants such an announcement then I would have no objection. But in any case, I shall certainly look into this matter as I have promised on my arrival, which would be most probably in the first week of November; and I am looking forward to meet you.

I am also sending you for your information a copy of the full text of Mashriqi's statement which he issued on 26th of August and which was sent to me by the Salar in charge of the Khaksar's office in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,

Pothan Joseph remained with DAWN till the beginning of 1945. Sir Sultan Ahmed, who had been expelled from the League and had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council as Member for Information, offered him Directorship in the Bureau of Information, which Pothan Joseph accepted and, consequently, left DAWN.

Poonun Abraham acted as editor. During his editorship DAWN deteriorated fast. An editorial published by the TIMES OF INDIA, Bombay, was lifted and published in DAWN on February 19, 1945, verbatim as its own.

Later in August, 1945, M. Hussain took over from Abraham. He could not make any improvement. It was only after Altaf Hussain came over from Calcutta, resigning from government service, and joining DAWN on October 1, 1945, that the paper regained its lost position.

* * *

Hafiz Mohammad Siddique was a businessman of Cawnpore. He sent Rs. 10,000 to the Quaid for starting a paper from Cawnpore. The Quaid refused to accept the amount conditionally. Alhaj Maulana Karam Ali, a member of the League Council from the United Provinces, who had presented the cheque on behalf of Hafiz Mohammad Siddique, wrote to the Quaid on May 15, 1944, requesting him to return the cheque. His letter reads:

> Dear Sir,
>
> On the occasion of the annual session of All India Muslim League in December 1943 at Karachi, I offered you a cheque of Rs. 10,000 on behalf of Hafiz Mohd. Siddique of Cawnpore for the purpose of starting a paper from Cawnpore under your supervision. You refused to do this and said that you were ready to accept the cheque if it was given without any condition and that you will give it to DAWN or MANSHOOR. Due to the illness of Hafiz Saheb I could not discuss this subject. Now after consulting him I am writing this letter to you. Hafiz Saheb will start the paper from Cawnpore. I will therefore be highly

thankful if you return the above mentioned cheque. How long will you stay in Kashmeer? My compliments to Miss Fatima Jinnah.

Wishing you to be in good health.

Yours faithfully,

Karam Ali

The Quaid replied to him on May 20, 1944, from Srinagar, asking Maulana Karam Ali to request Hafiz Mohammad Siddique to write to him direct:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 15th. Please ask Hafiz Saheb to write to me direct, giving me his full name and address, and I will return to him the Rs. 10,000/- if he really is determined to utilize the money for the purpose of starting a paper at Cawnpore. I would still like to impress upon him that he should allow his contribution to be utilized for our DAWN press. We are contemplating to start an English daily at Lahore. However, it is for him to consider in what direction he should spend his money, for which you were good enough to hand over to me a cheque on his behalf. Of course, the cheque has been realized and kept in a separate account, and I shall abide by his final wishes; and if he decides that I should return the money, I will send him a cheque for Rs. 10,000/-, which of course was his and would be at his disposal.

Yours faithfully,

Hafiz Mohamad Siddique accordingly wrote to the Quaid on December 10, 1945, advising him that Rizwanullah and other leaders had decided to bring out a daily by the name of AMAL from Çawnpore, and requested the Quaid to refund the amount:

مائی ڈیئر قائد اعظم

آپ کی شاندار کامیابی پر دلی مبارکباد پیش کرتا ہوں ، اور میری دعا ھے کہ آپکی اصلی مقاصد میں بھی آپکو کامیابی ھو۔

آپ سے گذارش یہ ھے کہ دسمبر ۴۳ء میں کرانچی کے اجلاس کے موقع پر مولانا کرم علی صاحب ملیح آبادی کی معرفت مینے مبلغ دس ھزار روپیہ (۱۰,۰۰۰) کا ڈرافٹ رجسٹری سے ارسال کیا تھا کہ آپ اپنی سرپرستی اور نگرانی میں کانپور سے اردو کا روزانہ اخبار جاری کرا دیں ، لیکن آپنے کانپور سے اپنی سرپرستی میں اخبار جاری کرنیسے معذوری ظاھر کی تھی، اور مولانا کرم علی صاحب سے یہ فرمایا تھا کہ وہ روپیہ محفوظ کرلیا ھے۔ چونکہ میں نے مولوی رضوان‌اللہ صاحب، ایم ایل اے، اور دیگر صوبہ کے لیڈران کی صلاح اور مشورہ سے روزانہ ''عمل،، کا ڈکلریشن داخل کر دیا ھے ، اور میں جلد از جلد اوسکو جاری کرنا چاھتا ھوں ، ''عمل،، قوم کی ملکیت ھوگا اور اوسکی آمدنی سے بھی تالیف اور تصانیف کا سلسلہ جاری رھیگا اور وہ اخبار مسلم لیگ کی پالیسی کا حامی ھوگا ، اور آپ برائے عنایت دس ھزار روپیہ کا ڈرافٹ یا چک مجھے فوراً ارسال کریں تاکہ اخبار جاری کرنیمیں تاخیر نہ ھو اس سے قبل بھی عریضہ ارسال کر چکا ھوں مگر جواب سے محروم رھا۔

نیازمند حافظ محمد صدیق

Refunding the amount, the Quaid wrote to him on December 20, 1945:

Dear Sir,

I had received your previous letter, but I am sorry that owing to my movements I was not able to attend to it earlier. I have now received your letter in Urdu dated the 10th instant; and as desired by you, I am returning the amount of Rs. 10,000/- which was kept by me, as I could not undertake to start a paper in Cawnpore and look after it, and I had intimated to you that if you so desire I would return the

amount to you. The amount was kept by me in a separate account; and as requested by you, I am herewith sending you a cheque for Rs. 10,000/-. Please acknowledge the receipt and oblige. I am glad that you are able to start a paper and that it will support the Muslim League and its creed, policy and programme; and I wish you all success.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Some letters show that the Bombay Provincial Muslim League subsidized a Gujrati weekly, VATAN. The Provincial League had formed a Press and Propaganda Fund Committee. Its Secretary was Mahomed Ali Chaiwala. From a letter which Chaiwala wrote to the Quaid on February 16, 1943, it appears that the Quaid participated in the deliberations of the Committee. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is just to remind you that a meeting is fixed at your bungalow at 6-30 p.m. on Wednesday 17th inst., regarding Press matter of VATAN when members of the final sub-committee and treasurers will attend—Mr. Thariani is also going to be present.

Yours sincerely,

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala

Along with the letter, Chaiwala sent a copy of the agenda bearing the date February 12, 1943. The agenda discloses that the affairs of VATAN were supervised by Abdulhusein M. Thariani and were looked after by the Committee. The agenda reads:

A meeting of the members of the sub-committee, together with the treasurers and the Secretary of Muslim League Press Fund will be held at Mr. Jinnah's bungalow on Wednesday next the 17th day of February 1943 at 6.30 p.m. when the following work will be taken up.

1. To read the Minutes of the last meeting of the sub-committee held in March 1942.

2. To read the report of Mr. Abdulhusein M. Thariani dated 6th February 1943 with regard to the accounts and balance sheet of the management of the paper VATAN from 22nd March 1942 to 31st December 1942.

3. To consider the question of subsidy for VATAN for a further period of one year or to pass such other resolution as the Committee may think advisable.

4. To consider the question of stocking paper for the use of VATAN.

5. To consider the re-investment of the several deposit receipts falling due shortly.

6. Such other work as may be brought forward with the consent of the President.

Dated this 12th day of February, 1943.

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala,
Hon. Secretary,
B.P.M.L.P. and P.F.

The Committee approved a subsidy of Rs. 6,000 for the year 1943. Abdulhusein M. Thariani on February 23, 1943, thanked the Committee for it:

Dear Sir,

With reference to your kind letter of 18-2-43, I am thankful to the President and co-members of the Press Fund sub-committee for the good feelings expressed by them for me.

All thanks are due to Allah who has helped me to achieve this result in this personal venture of mine which I undertook in consultation with the Qaid-e-Azam last year.

I assure you that the fresh subsidy of Rs. 6,000/- granted for the year ending December 1943 for the VATAN will be utilised by Allah's help in the best possible way. I thank the Committee for the same.

I shall feel obliged should you kindly send me a copy of the proceedings of the last meeting of the Press Sub-committee held at Mr. Jinnah's residence.

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Thariani

The next letter available is dated March 5, 1945. A change was made in the title of the weekly, which prompted the Quaid to advise Thariani as under:

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I am sorry I was not able to see you before leaving for Delhi, but I note the change you have made in the title of the VATAN. It is still not clear; and while I wish your paper all success, I would request you to make it quite clear that neither the Muslim League nor I have anything to do with the management, control, and the conduct of the paper. I also note on your letter-paper "Press Telegram: League Press". This is likely to convey the impression that your press belongs to the Muslim League. I have no objection to your using anywhere by itself separately "Founder: Qaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah"; but beyond that you must not directly or indirectly convey to the public that the VATAN belongs to the Muslim League or that the League or myself has any control of it, directly or indirectly.

Yours sincerely,

No reply to the letter is available. However, Thariani on June 5, 1945, requested the Quaid to allow him to discuss the proposal for purchasing a press. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is a big press with land and building available. As you know, I am in great difficulties and this matter of the press was brought to my notice by

Messrs Manji Nathubhai, whom I had approached for printing VATAN in their existing printing press (Berkley Printing Press). Messrs Manji Nathubhai are willing to take up this big press with land and building or any other suitable press, provided a Limited concern is started and provided we support them in all respects.

This press is situated near Girgaum. Please let me know when you are coming to Bombay so that we can discuss the said matter either here or at Matheran. I may also bring representative of Messrs Manji Nathubhai with me to you to discuss the same.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Thariani

N.B.: I have sent my reply to the Working Committee.

The Quaid replied to him on June 7, 1945, from Matheran:

Dear Mr. Thariani,

I am in receipt of your letter of 5th June, and beg to inform you that I hope to be in Bombay by the middle of June, and I shall be very glad to discuss the subject with you and with Messrs Manjee Nathubhai.

As regards your previous letter, I have not replied, as really there was nothing for me to say on the subject.

Hoping you are well and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

It is not known as to what happened to the proposal for purchasing the press. The next letter dated October 5, 1945, which

A.M. Thariani wrote to the Quaid, deals with the question of bringing out a paper in English. The letter reads:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After my talk with you, I discussed the matter with Mr. Chundrigar in respect of the English paper as desired by you.

A meeting was arranged and Mr. Chundrigar, Mr. Abdul Kader, Mr. Jafferi and myself discussed the matter. In consultation with Mr. Chundrigar I have sent the accompanying application for permission for starting the paper by name ADVANCE.

Mr. Chundrigar has now requested me to forward the copy of the application to you with a request that in case it is possible you may also do your best, circumstances permitting.

Yours sincerely,

A.M. Thariani
F.I.I.A., G.D. ARCH.
Architect.

The application, dated September 12, 1945, submitted by Thariani to the Controller of Imports for necessary permission and quota of newsprint for the proposed ADVANCE reads:

Dear Sir,

We beg to inform you that in the whole of Bombay presidency there is not a single English paper representing the voice of the Muslim League. In these times of great political awakening an English paper is an essential organ to approach the educated masses of the presidency. With this end in view, it is proposed to start a paper which in the beginning will be restricted to a weekly only and, as circumstances permit, the same will be converted into a daily.

It is understood that the paper may be founded by the President of the All India Muslim League, Quaid-e-Azam M. A. Jinnah; and as such, it is likely to be very popular. Following are the particulars to enable you to consider our application in respect of obtaining your permission for the starting of the proposed weekly in English and obtaining the necessary quota of newsprint for the purposes:

(1) Name of Newspaper: ADVANCE

(2) Date of proposed publication: About October 18th, Thursday, 1945.

(3) Size of the page of the paper: 11″ × 17½″ Demi.

(4) Number of pages per issue of the paper: 24.

(5) Size of the sheet: 35″ × 45″.

(6) Number of the issues of the paper per month: Will be published every Sunday—52 issues in the year.

(7) Expected average circulation per issue of the paper: 5,000 copies.

(8) Weight per ream of newsprint used: 60 lbs. (35″ × 45″ sheets).

(9) Estimated yearly consumption of newsprint in reams and in tons: 810 (reams) or 22 tons.

As stated above, we will be requiring 22 tons of paper per year on an average for the proposed weekly.

We shall, therefore, thank you to please treat this matter as urgent and grant us the necessary permission for starting the weekly, as also kindly sanction the quota of newsprint required for the

publication of the same. Necessary returns of newsprint consumption will be made under the present Act.

Yours faithfully,

A.M. Thariani

Proprietor — VATAN

The idea of bringing out the weekly by the name of ADVANCE was dropped. It was later decided to name it as STAR. The project, however, ran through snags, as Matlub's letter of January 23, 1946, discloses:

My dear Qaide Azam,

Mr. Chundrigar had telegraphed to you on the 11th inst. as follows:

THARIANI AND SADIQ WANT TO BACK OUT FROM PRESS COMMITTEE STOP GOING AHEAD WITH FRIENDS KINDLY REPLY

—Chundrigar.

Our arrangements are now complete and I am only awaiting the formal permission from the Government of India for the purchase of newsprint.

I shall be grateful if you will send us a message for the inauguration of THE STAR. I am sending a draft herewith for your consideration.

I hope in the midst of your busy moments you will find time to accede to my request. I intend making a block of your message and print it on the first page.

Yours sincerely,

M.H. Saiyid

The telegram from I.I. Chundrigar referred to by Matlub is not available. In a letter addressed to the Quaid, I.I. Chundrigar

described the developments in details on January 26, 1946:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is an urgent need of an English weekly in this province to advocate the Muslim League point of view and to carry on Muslim League propaganda among the English-knowing public. Various schemes were considered from time to time for starting an English weekly or daily from Bombay. Of the several schemes placed before you, you were good enough to give your name as a Founder to an English weekly which may be looked after by a Committee consisting of Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh and Mr. Thariani. Some time later, a suggestion was made to include Mr. Sadik also in this Committee; and you accepted that suggestion. We formed a Committee of these four persons to start an English weekly from Bombay. All the four members agreed to join the Committee before you left. After your departure, I tried to get in touch with them. After great difficulty, I could get Mr. Thariani and Mr. Sadik at my place, and both of them ultimately expressed their unwillingness to go ahead with the scheme. My first reaction was that Mr. Thariani was probably unwilling to go ahead with Mr. Sadik on the Committee. When Mr. Sadik also declined to remain on the Committee I got in touch with Mr. Thariani again and requested him to continue, now that Mr. Sadik had already declined to remain on the Committee. Even then, Mr. Thariani did not agree. It appears that he wanted to start the paper as a business and did not like the clause empowering you to take over the paper whenever you chose. The position then was that only myself and Mr. Abdul Kader Shaikh were willing to go ahead. It may be mentioned that Mr. Thariani had at an earlier stage agreed to all the details of the enterprise. He agreed to engage Mr. Matlub H. Sayed as the editor on Rs. 400/- per

month. He agreed to get the paper printed at the British India Press at the rates quoted by them with such reduction as we could secure through some channels. He had agreed to take up an office which was available. He suggested the name of a furniture merchant from whom he could purchase the requisite articles. The plans having proceeded so far, and Mr. Matlub having been already engaged, and authority having been given to Mr. Matlub to engage the staff to assist him, we find ourselves in a very serious predicament. All the necessary staff is engaged by now.

The British India Press is one of the largest printing presses in Bombay and it has been purchased by Mullaji Saheb and it appears that there are some partners in that concern. Mr. Yusuf Faizullabhai is one of them and is appointed the Managing Director of the press. We have decided to take up Mr. Faizullahbhai as a third member of the Committee, subject to your approval.

We have already started work and have incurred an expenditure of more than Rs. 200/-. Mr. Matlub has been engaged as an editor and the other staff has been engaged and even the material for the first issue.

I enclose herewith another letter on the lines suggested by you at Bombay and I hope to receive from you a reply on the lines mentioned by you.

Yours sincerely,

I.I. Chundrigar

The letter, referred to in the last paragraph, and dated January 26, 1946, was addressed to the Quaid jointly by Chundrigar and Abdul Kadir Shaikh. It reads:

Sir,

The Muslim League organisation suffers a very great handicap for want of an English medium

through which it can carry its message both to the English-reading public and Government quarters. With a view to overcome this handicap we have decided to start an English weekly from Bombay.

We were aware that you intend to start an English daily from Bombay in near future and we also feel that the starting of this weekly will clear the ground for the starting of an English daily. We have, therefore, decided to start it on the following conditions which were discussed with you by Mr. Chundrigar:

(1) That we the undersigned will contribute in equal shares whatever capital is necessary for starting this English weekly which will be named the STAR.

(2) With a view to facilitate your plans for the starting of an English daily from Bombay, and with a view that this weekly STAR may be conveniently developed into an English daily in near future, it is agreed that you will be the sole proprietor of the STAR and that it will be open to you at any time to take over this weekly from us.

(3) During the period that we run the paper, we shall be responsible for any loss that may be occasioned by the running of this paper and we shall take whatever profit is made during that period.

(4) It is however distinctly agreed that should this weekly prove a profitable venture, we will not charge you any goodwill, but will accept from you the value of the assets on the date of your taking over at cost price.

(5) That you will please give your name as the Founder of this paper.

We have taken up an office for this newspaper at 16-18, Old Customs House Road, and have engaged the editor and other necessary staff and have also made arrangements for printing this newspaper at the British India Press. We are now merely awaiting your benedictions to bring out the first issue, and we request you to send us your inspiring message for starting this weekly.

Yours sincerely,

I.I. Chundrigar

Abdul Kader Shaikh

The Quaid accepted the offer. His reply dated February 2, 1946, reads:

Dear Mr. Chundrigar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th January and the offer made by Mr. Abdul Kadir Shaikh and yourself, and the undertaking embodied therein which is enclosed with your letter. On these terms, I have no objection to your using my name as a Founder of English weekly, STAR, which you propose to establish; but I shall not be responsible in any other way for the management, control and administration of this venture.

I am also enclosing a message for STAR on a separate sheet.

Yours sincerely,

The message meant for publication in the inaugural issue of the STAR reads:

The inauguration of the STAR at this critical juncture, when Muslim India has unequivocally registered its emphatic and unflinching support to the creed, policy and programme of the All India Muslim League is a welcome step forward inasmuch

as you assure me that STAR will stand for the organization and guidance of the Muslim opinion and will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League. The appearance of the STAR as a weekly may constitute a step in the direction of founding a first class English daily from the province of Bombay in the very near future, and I do hope that the STAR will voice the sentiments of Muslim India faithfully, sincerely and fearlessly. I wish your venture every success.

* * *

Whenever any newspaper, following Muslim League creed and policy, faced difficulty in obtaining the newsprint quota, the Quaid was approached for taking up the matter with the Government; and he took steps to ensure that the cases were decided promptly and favourably. Some letters which M. Azizul Haque, Member for Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies in the Viceroy's Executive Council, wrote to the Quaid, tell of endeavours which the Quaid made in such cases. The first letter is dated May 26, 1944:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letters dated the 20th May about VATAN, an illustrated weekly of Bombay, and JIDDAT. I am sending the papers to the Department to have the cases examined, and I shall personally look into both the cases. The paper position just now has been extraordinarily difficult—more difficult than we have ever had within the last two years—owing to the Bombay fire, in which we have lost a very considerable quantity of paper and newsprint. As I have said, I shall, however, try my best in the matter.

I hope you are having good rest in Kashmere.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. Azizul Haque

It was followed by another letter bearing the date July 14, 1944. The Quaid's letter referred to in this letter is not available:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just received your letter about IQDAM and MANSHOOR. I am returning to Delhi on Sunday and I hope to look into these cases personally as soon as I am back there. I shall try my best.

Trusting you are well.

Yours sincerely,

M. Azizul Haque

In his letter dated November 19, 1944, M. Azizul Haque conveyed the news about the grant of permission for bringing out MANSHOOR as a daily:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When I met you in Bombay, you brought to my notice the case of permission for MANSHOOR. Immediately on my return to Delhi, I took up the matter and I am glad to say that in spite of various difficulties in this way I have succeeded to have the necessary permission granted. As I spoke to you while at Bombay, Nawabzada spoke to me about this case some time in July and I then informed him that I would have the matter finally settled by the end of October or November; and I was able to keep to the time.

Trusting you are well and with kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. Azizul Haque

On March 26, 1945, he informed the Quaid about the grant of permission for converting VATAN of Bombay into a daily:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that you wrote a letter to me about VATAN of Bombay. We have just permitted for the conversion of the weekly into daily.

We are so very anxious to know of your health. I did not like to disturb you during your ill health; but as soon as you are well, I wish to call on you to discuss one or two matters.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. Azizul Haque

The last letter in the series is dated September 20, 1945, wherein besides other matters, M. Azizul Haque advised the Quaid about having permitted the publication of TANVIR which Ch. Khaliquzzaman had arranged to bring out from Lucknow under the editorship of Qazi Rafiuddin of Sandila, and of MOHAMMADI belonging to Maulana Akram Khan from Calcutta. He also informed the Quaid of having granted permission for conversion of the weekly CHANDRIKA of Tellicherry, Malabar, owned and edited by Haji Abdul Sattar Ishaq Seth, into a daily:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You may remember that you brought the case of VATAN to my notice. I arrived after my tour just before Id and I immediately took up the matter.

I have just passed orders, allowing more paper to VATAN. VATAN had been getting roughly about 7½ tons per month; and we are now permitting 10 tons. I enquired from the editor and I find that 10 tons would for the time being meet all his demands.

I have also permitted the publication of TANVIR to be edited by Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman. The weekly paper CHANDRIKA of Malabar has also been permitted to be converted into a daily. A new Muslim Bengali paper is being permitted in Bengal named MOHAMMADI; and in addition, MORNING NEWS is getting an extra quota. There are some other Muslim papers which have also been permitted.

You may remember that you mentioned the case of certain Arab merchants who were ordered to be deported. I immediately sent a code telegram from my tour to Sir Francis Mudie to reconsider the case. I have just received a reply from him that he had looked up the papers and that in view of the very strong recommendation of the Bombay Government he regretted he could not interfere with the decision arrived at. He has further stated that nothing can be done by way of staying orders passed in this case.

You may recollect the discussion which we had as regards the future line of action *vis-a-vis* the Central Legislature. Since Lord Wavell's statement, the situation has taken a new shape; and I feel that I should take an early opportunity of discussing these matters with you. I do not know what your present programme is, but I shall be grateful if you kindly let me know when you are likely to return from Quetta so that I may have an early opportunity of meeting you.

I trust you are now well by the Grace of God. I saw in the papers that Miss Jinnah too, was not, well. I hope she is also now well by the Grace of God.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. Azizul Haque

* * *

The Quaid's image in the minds of his devotees—men, women and childern—was not confined to only as a politician. It glowed through their hearts as their saviour in personal predicaments, too.

Sameenuddin Khan, a 17-year old first-year student, wrote from Delhi about his ambition to proceed to U.S.A. for education. He complained that his mother, who was a capable and intelligent woman, did not allow him to go. His letter bearing the date November 16, 1944, reads:

> My dear Qaed-e-Azam,
>
> With trembling hands I have picked up my pen to write a letter to you. I regard you as the [sole] leader of the Muslims of India. I am at present studying in St. Stephen's College in the preparatory class (first year). I passed my matriculation examination from Aligarh. Previously I had studied in Doon School, Dehra Dun, and in Sherwood College, Nainital—an American institution. You may recollect when you graced us by sitting in a group of English House at Habeeb Manzil in February.
>
> I had intended to meet you previously but I did not have the courage of coming to you. It's my intention to become your honorary secretary (private) after the termination of my education. My first intention is to go [to] America and get a tripos in Political Science and then join the Bar in England. But my mother does not want me to go at such an early age. I will be 17 on January 11, 1945. I gave your's, J.L. Nehru's and M.K. Gandhi's examples. How the trio had gone at an early age and had become great men. I told her that I want to do something for my country and my beloved Qaed-e-Azam.
>
> I want to go to America as soon as possible so

that I may not waste my superfluous time here where I cannot [get] good books to read. I have tried to read books but I could not get good books here. I am very fond of buying books and I spend most of my pocket money on them. People are fed up with me because I read too much day and night.

I want to go to a free country because I am sure no person can lead a nation to the goals of freedom and Pakistan, till he may know what freedom really is. I believe that I may be demoralized if I stay too much here in India.

My financial condition is by God's Grace quite satisfactory and my monthly income is approximately Rs. 1,500/-. My great-grandfather unfortunately got the estate in exchange to the services rendered in the Mutiny. I am very much ashamed to possess it and want to wash that dirty spot by rendering appropriate service to the community. My father took much part in Khilafat and gave up the use of foreign cloth in the latter part of his life due to the influence of Maulana Shaukat Ali, his staunch friend, and died in khaddar clothes in 1934.

My maternal uncle who was the chairman of the Municipal Board of Rampore State is at present acting as my guardian. He is an enlightened man and has done much for me and my estate. I do not belong to Rampore but to Sheopore Estate in distt. Pilibhit. The real intention of my writing this letter to you is that please ask my mother to send me to America as soon as possible after the war either by a letter or by granting them an interview. My mother is an able women and she has managed to administer the estate very nicely. She wants to take much part in politics and wants to enroll herself as a member of the Muslim League. She asked me to purchase a

photograph of yours. She gave me the proof that as all Hindus keep the photographs of their leaders why should not we also keep them. Now I will end my letter.

Your most sympathetic follower,

M. Sameenuddin Khan

P.S.—If you would do this favour for me you will increase one more volunteer of the Muslim League and the hours of freedom may come nearer and nearer.

The Quaid in his reply dated December 13, 1944, advised:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of November 16th. What can I say in a matter like the one that you put before me? You are a youth of 17, and it is for your mother and your elders to advise you and determine whether you should be sent abroad or not. No man with character can be demoralized, no matter where he stays. As you say your mother is an able woman and she has managed the affairs of the estate very efficiently, you must trust her and follow her advice.

Yours faithfully,

* * *

Mohammad Noman played a vital role in founding and organizing the All India Muslim Students Federation. He was elected its Vice-President when it was formed in 1936. A brilliant student of the Muslim University, he was an eloquent speaker and a good writer. After completing his education he wrote MUSLIM INDIA: RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE—the only book which traces the history and deals with the activities of the Muslim League, published in early 1942. Later on, he shifted to Hyderabad Deccan, where he participated in behind-the-scene political activities. Worried about his future, he requested the

Quaid to guide as to how he should plan it. The letter in which he requested the Quaid for advice is not available. A subsequent letter which contains a reference to his earlier letter is available. This letter does not bear any date, and reads:

Dear Qaide Azam,

First of all allow me to offer my humble felicitations over the thundering success of the League candidates. It is all due to you. You are the one man in the whole history of Moslems who has infused this consciousness and who dedicated his entire life for the service of *Millat*. Your name will go down in history as the greatest Moslem who saved his nation from ruin and annihilation. If today they raise their heads with a sense of national honour, it is due to you, my Qaide! I will be the happiest man in this world if I lay down my life at your feet as an expression of gratitude. How I wish to do so! May you live long, my only leader, to realise all that you have been saying. I am confident that you will live long not only to see the establishment of Pakistan but to steer them through other troubled waters.

Some time back, I wrote to you a letter, but your Peshawar visit, which was a great success and other engagements, did not give you the time to consider over my request. I am still waiting to hear from you. I am anxiously waiting to know the date and time when you can see me in Bombay. I am anxious to see you at the earliest opportunity.

Hope you are enjoying the best of your health. My wife sends her respects to you. Please remember us to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,

Mohd. Noman

The Quaid replied to him on December 10, 1945. He was very candid in his advice:

Dear Mr. Noman,

I have received your letter which bears no date. My movements are so uncertain that I cannot make any appointment just now. I cannot say more than what I have said in our talks. What advice can I give you as to how you should shape your future? You are the only judge of it.

Thanking you for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

After the partition, Noman compiled a pictorial record of the freedom movement under the title OUR STRUGGLE: 1857-1947. Later on he settled in Dacca where he established a cigarette manufacturing factory. After 1971, Noman migrated to Karachi, where he died recently.

* * *

Abdul Jabbar Kheiri and Abdus Sattar Kheiri were well-known for their political activities and thinking. Sattar Kheiri was the first Muslim scholar who raised the issue of a separate homeland for Muslims from an international forum on the occasion of Socialist Internationale held in Stockholm in 1917. Settled at Aligarh, Sattar Kheiri commanded great influence among the students of the University. Both brothers were committed to the ideology of the Muslim League.

When the Second World War broke out, Sattar Kheiri and his wife were detained under the Defence of India Rules. The reasons for his detention have been detailed in his letters addressed to the Quaid. Though Sattar Kheiri did not wish, the Quaid took up the case of their detention with the Government. The letters written by the Quaid in this connection reflect his respect for freedom of individual.

The first letter in the series is dated September 14, 1940, and was sent by Sattar Kheiri from Jhansi Jail:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With very great joy I read that you were going to the meetings of the Working Committee and of the Council on the 28th and 29th September at Aligarh. Long did I wait for this day. Only I am much grieved to feel that I shall not be able to welcome you and the members of the Working Committee and the Council at Aligarh. Perhaps you are not aware that both my wife and myself have been detained under the Defence of India Rules, Rule 26, sub-rule 1, clause B, with a view to preventing us from acting in any manner prejudicial to efficient prosecution of the war, to the defence of British India, or to public order. My wife, Mrs. Fatima Kheiri, is in the Parole Camp at Naini Tal; and I am here in the Jhansi District Jail. So you will miss at Aligarh two of the most loyal members of the League. But in spirit I will be there.

Mr. Jinnah, I do not want you or the League to do anything for me. You have more important work to do. Only it will do me considerable pain if *you* have the slightest doubt on my integrity. I wish to assure you, on my word of honour, and on what I hold dear and sacred that my political activities have been *wholly* and *solely* in the service of the League. After the Council meeting in which Sir Abdullah Haroon's Committee was formed and of which I was a co-opted member, I started the monthly, SPIRIT OF THE TIME, in June 1938, solely to serve the League at great sacrifice of time and labour and some money. As I had succeeded to make the League overall at Aligarh, the opponents of the League became my enemies. And as I had through great difficulties succeeded to secure some genuine advertisements from some German firms in India, the Communists and the Congressites made continuous and organized

propaganda against me for about a year before the War began. As a member of the University staff, I could not publish a paper; so I had persuaded my wife to give her name as proprietor and editor of the paper. You know the paper well. It never wrote anything against the Br. Govt. Besides its work here, it wanted to make the League known in foreign and Islamic countries. I used to send about 100 copies free outside India. The paper was stopped on July 1, 1939, two months before the war began. But the Govt. looked at all my activity in the light of the Communistic and Congressite propaganda against me. This propaganda had started in the NATIONAL HERALD of Lucknow. This propaganda painted me as a Nazi Agent. This insinuation makes me boil with rage. All my life, for the last forty years, has been only for Islam. All the treasures of the world cannot buy me. If I have anything, I have character. But the truth will be out some day. When I come out, I shall not rest till I make the Govt. declare that they were wrong. They can have no proof against me. No one knows me better than myself. Yes, I was in Germany for a long time. There I only studied and learnt. I returned to India in February 1931, before Hitler came to power. I admire many things in Germany, as I do many things in England or the United States. Our Prophet Muhammad has said: "Wisdom is the stray camel of the Faithful, take it wherever you find it." I have taken "thoroughness" from Germany, which again, is an Islamic virtue.

My wife is more Muslim than anything else. She adopted Islam before she married 19 years ago. She is devoted to League and often pushed me to work when I felt a little hesitant or lazy.

I am seeing bright future for Islam in India. Only Muslims must be true Muslims. They ought to work for Allah and serve His people, not their own selfish interests. We need character most of all.

Character first and character last. We can depend on a man of character.

Mr. Jinnah, I am so happy that under your leadership the League has moved considerably towards the great ideals of Islam. Muslims have become conscious of their nationhood and are now yearning for a State of their own. There is no going back now. This idea has now come to stay. Lord Linlithgow and Mr. Amery have accepted much what the League had been demanding, though perhaps they themselves have not thought fully the implications of what they have declared. Mr. Amery has gone so far as to say: "India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions." Was he fully conscious of the force of these words?

I hope that the meeting at Aligarh will be an epoch-making. I have the fullest faith in year leadership, as you know.

With the most sincere wishes for your good health and the greatness of the League.

I am,
Always most sincerely yours,

Sattar Kheiri

P.S.—Sometime ago I saw your picture, meeting the Muhammadan Sporting Club of Calcutta in Bombay. You looked much younger and so soldier-like. I was happy.

The Quaid forwarded the letter to the Governor of United Provinces, Sir Maurice Hallet, on October 12, 1940, reminding him that the Council of League had also passed a resolution on September 29, 1940, requesting the Government to set Sattar Kheiri at liberty. The letter reads:

Dear Sir Maurice,

I am taking the liberty of drawing your attention to a matter which has been agitating the mind of a

large and influential Muslim opinion with regard to the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Khairi, a member of the staff of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Your attention may have already been drawn to the resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League passed on the 29th of September 1940 in Delhi which runs as follows:

> "This meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League greatly regrets that Mr. Abdus Sattar Khairi of the Aligarh Muslim University, a member of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League, is being kept under detention as 'B' class prisoner without trial. The Council requests the Government to reconsider Mr. Khairi's case and set him at liberty. The Council further authorises the president and the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature to take up the matter with the Government."

But I had received a letter from Mr. Khairi long before the meeting of the Council, and I am enclosing it herewith for your perusal, hoping that it will receive your careful attention and lead to the reconsideration of his case at your hands.

I am personally inclined to believe what he says in his letter, and in these circumstances I think you will agree with me that his and his wife's detention should not be continued.

Please return to me the original letter when you have done with it.

Yours sincerely,

Sir Maurice Hallet acknowledged the Quaid's letter on October 17, 1940, and promised to enquire into the case:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

This is in reply to your letter of October 12th and to say that I will look into Mr. Abdus Sattar

Khairi's case again. I return the enclosure to your letter after keeping a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,

Maurice Hallet

Kheiri again wrote to the Quaid on November 7, 1940, from Dehra Dun Jail, where he had been shifted. Commenting on a speech which the Quaid had made on the occasion of Eid, he was specifically thrilled by the Quaid's appeal to the Muslims: "I wish you to make up your minds that we are not a minority. We do not believe in the so-called democratic parliamentary form of government for this country. We are a nation; and as such, we should have our own territory and our own State." Kheiri's letter reads:

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

God bless you for your speech on I'd Day. What [a] difference between your speech and other speeches delivered on that [day] by many other so-called Muslim leaders and statesmen! By Allah, Mr. Jinnah, you are a man after my heart. You are reported to have said while addressing the Muslims: "I wish you to make up your minds that we are not a minority. We do not believe in the so-called democratic parliamentary form of Government for this country. We are a nation; and as such we should have our own territory and our own State." These words, these great truths have thrilled me. Nothing has given me greater joy in my isolation since I have been supposed to be deprived of my freedom. In the above lines has been expressed the true creed of the Muslim League. Every Muslim in India should know it and feel it and will it. Had this also not been the perpetual theme and cry of my paper, your paper, SPIRIT OF THE TIME? Does not Aligarh resound with these very words?

Mr. Jinnah, do not be indifferent to Aligarh. Of course you are not. I know more than anybody else

that you are not. You cannot be indifferent to Aligarh. But I hear that the Congressites, the Communists and the Godless are again raising their heads there. No less a person than Dr. Abid, the president of the Muslim University Ward Muslim Leagues writes this to [me].

The last election to the Court from the Registered Graduates Constituency, was organized by this humble servant of yours, and he had 100% success in spite of very stubborn opposition. I had made no compromise, though advised by some very important persons.

I do not quite yet know what I can do with the next election. New members to the constituency can be enrolled till December 15, 1940, for the next election in spring.

Besides, the term of the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Suleiman, is to end in April 1941. We must now think of a new Vice-Chancellor. Unless our Sahibzada Sahib can be spared, I think after due consideration, after weighing all possible pros and cons, without any prejudice and with all possible purification of heart and soul, that we cannot find a better man than Sir Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad to fight the Congressites, the Communists and the Godless. Besides, during these critical times, Dr. Ziauddin is by far the best man for the University. He knows the University so intimately. Any other man may be a total failure. Dr. Ziauddin has his faults and defects. Who has not? We have to sacrifice the unessentials and the less important in order to preserve the fundamentals and the more important.

I had had to talk with Sir Ziauddin about the matter. I do not know whether he is willing or not. You can order him and compell him to accept the post. He will have to obey you and follow you.

I shall continue my work of purge in the University Court as best as I could till there are no Congressites or Communists or the Godless in the Muslim University Court.

My experience in the jail with the Congress leaders has given me very great hopes. I have seen their doctrines of Truth and Non-violence. I have seen great Congress leaders talking and acting violence against poorer prisoners. Mr. Jinnah, false men cannot make a brick house. Hypocricy is soon out.

I am very optimistic about the programme of the Muslim League. But we must have in our High Command men of character. A chain is as strong as its weakest link. I am optimistic about my work in the Muslim University and the Muslim League.

I am nowadays in very high spirits. Remember, Mr. Jinnah, that you and I are the most youthful members of the League. And we are not going to grow old till our work is done. We do not talk of the past except as foundation on which plans we build our present and future. If the British Government helps us in our plans, we shall be only too glad to help them. But we are Allah's; and we turn to Him alone. Therefore forward, always forward, always trusting in Allah. And He alone is a sufficient Helper.

Very sincerely and devotedly

Yours,

Muhmd. Abdus Sattar Kheiri

P.S.—I had sent you two letters before. I did not expect any answer, nor do I expect now. But if possible, tell someone to drop me a card informing me if my letters reached you. I do not know if other letters ever reached you, or even if they ever were posted.

Meanwhile, Sir Maurice Hallet went through the case, and on November 18, 1940, wrote to the Quaid:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of the 12th October on the subject of the detention of Mr. Abdus Sattar Kheiri, to which an interim reply was sent on the 17th October. The resolution of the Council of the All India Muslim League, to which you refer, asked for the release of Mr. Kheiri. I have given the matter my most careful consideration; but I am afraid that I am unable to agree, at any rate at present. There is a mass of information concerning the activities of the Kheiris, some of which has not yet been fully examined. It may be that when this has been done, Mr. Kheiri will be able to explain certain facts which go to show that he was an enemy agent; but, subject to what he may be able to say, the information available appears to leave no room for doubt that he was in touch with German propaganda agents before the war, and had contacts also with anti-British agents of other Powers. These facts are only gradually coming to light and could not have been known to your Council. There is no objection to your communicating them confidentially to the members of your Council, should the matter again be raised there. Mr. Kheiri was not of course detained, as he suggests in his letter, because of his connexion with THE SPIRIT OF THE TIME, nor of any Communistic or Congress propaganda against him, of which indeed I am quite unaware.

2. I of course appreciate and sympathise with the distress of the Kheiri family in their present unfortunate position and am doing all I can to alleviate it, consistently with what appears to be necessary in the interests of the public safety. Sometime ago, I ordered that Mr. Kheiri be moved to Dehra Dun Jail, where he now is, and where the climate is better than at Jhansi.

I am afraid that I cannot agree to the release of Mrs. Kheiri; but I satisfied myself by a personal visit that those detained in the Parole Camp in Naini Tal, where Mrs. Kheiri is, are well looked after and have no ground for complaint. Mrs. Kheiri has her younger daughter with her, and I have just issued orders that her elder daughter be sent there too, as Mrs. Kheiri wishes. Neither of these girls will of course be treated as a detenu, though Government will pay for their board and lodging. The University authorities are willing to take the son into a boarding house; and I am instructing the Collector of Aligarh, Mr. Naqvi, to arrange for the letting of the Kheiri's house, the rent of which should be sufficient to pay for the son's University expenses.

Yours sincerely,

Maurice Hallet

The Quaid did not accept the contention of Sir Maurice Hallet. He replied to him on November 28, 1940, and told him that the Kheiris should be informed of the specific charges against them and given opportunity for explaining them:

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th inst. Of course, it is very difficult for me to deal with the allegation that Mr. Kheiri was an enemy agent, nor is it possible for Mr. Kheiri to give his explanation until he knows the actual allegations and facts upon which it is said that he was an enemy agent. I should really, therefore, like to know what are the reasons and facts which go to substantiate his contact with the German propaganda agents before the war and also anti-British agents of other Powers.

I think in fairness Mr. Kheiri ought to be informed of what are the specific charges against him and his family, and he must be given an opportunity

to explain his position. After all, Your Excellency have got an *ex parte* case; and after all, it is not safe to rely upon them and take away the liberty and livelihood of a man, and consequently of his dependents.

I am very thankful to you for your appreciation and sympathies for the distress of the Kheiri family in their present unfortunate position and that you have tried to do your best to alleviate it. Therefore, while I appreciate your efforts to do what you can to lessen the rigours of misfortune upon them, nevertheless, the main question of Mr. and Mrs. Kheiri's detention without trial is a matter that requires Your Excellency's serious consideration; and, therefore, once more I request you not merely to act on the *ex parte* report but give Mr. Kheiri the fullest opportunity to meet these serious allegations against him.

Thanking you again for giving me the detailed account of the position as you visualise it.

Yours sincerely,

Kheiris were finally released in October, 1944. Immediately after his release, Kheiri wrote on October 29, 1944, to the Quaid from Aligarh:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Peace. It is just to inform you that I have come back to Aligarh; and I thank you heartily for all you did for my release during the early days of my detention. No one's efforts succeeded because Allah had planned for me. I know that even the Government could not release me, though they tried more than once. But when the hour came, they could not keep me a day longer. I used to write to you from the jail; but in the Parole Camp at Naini Tal, I was told not to write to political personalities. I did not even need then to write. My faith in you by that time

had grown so strong that I could call you "*AMEEN*". I was never disappointed in all what you said or did. In fact, almost always I felt what your reaction to such and such a matter would be; and I was always right.

What I feel and know—and I am sure that you feel and know still more—that we so-called Muslims lack Islamic character; and without it nothing Islamic can be done. Today is the first time I am writing any letter after my release. Mr. Jinnah, I had unique opportunies to meditate, think and plan in jail and in the camp. I have not wasted my time. And when I feel to work, I feel twenty years younger. I am sure that Pakistan will come, but only then when we depend for our success only on Allah and on our own strength bestowed to us by Allah. And this time is bound to come. Pakistan shall be achieved by the efforts of truly honest and sincere Muslims howmuch-soever unpleasant, disagreeable and abhorent it may be to others. I have faith in Allah, I have faith in you and I have faith in myself.

When I have work before me I am healthy, strong and young. I hope that you, too, are keeping good health and are feeling younger and younger. God may preserve you for the work to be done.

Yours sincerely,

Muhmd. Abdus Sattar Kheiri

The Quaid was happy to learn about his release, and replied to him on November 8, 1944:

My dear Mr. Kheiri,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 29th, and I thank you for it. I am glad that you are a free man. Of course, I do not know why you were subjected to detention; but you know that I am always against

any man's liberty being taken away without a judicial trial.

I am glad that you are well and full of hopes, and that you will work for the betterment of Muslim India. I know we have many difficulties; but I think we have made a tremendous progress, and we have every reason to be encouraged, having regard to the enthusiastic support and sympathy we have of millions of our people. If we work in an organized and united spirit, I am confident that we shall achieve our goal of Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

* * *

Another bunch of letters relates to the case of Dr. Abdulhafiz Akmut. The bunch is incomplete, as some letters are not available.

In April, 1946, the Quaid received Dr. Akmut's letter from Turkey. Sending the original letter to H. Weightman, CIE, ICS, Secretary, External Affairs Department, the Quaid wrote to him on April 27, 1946:

Dear Mr. Weightman,

I am enclosing herewith an original letter from one Dr. Abdulhafiz Akmut from Ankara. I was rather impressed with it and thought I should forward it to you, requesting you to see whether you could look into the matter and deal with it favourably.

Yours sincerely,

Mian Abdul Aziz[14] also wrote from Lahore to the Quaid

[14] Mian Abdul Aziz belonged to that small group of politicians in the Punjab who had unwavering faith in the Quaid's political acumen. The Quaid had nominated him to the Central Parliamentary Board when it was formed on May 21, 1936. The Board had its first meeting at the Yekki Gate residence of Mian Abdul Aziz on June 8, 1936.

about the matter. Dr. Akmut was his brother and had gone to Turkey during the Balkan Wars. He was not permitted by the British Government to return to India.

The External Affairs Department, to whom the Quaid had referred the matter, did not deal with the Quaid's letter. It was dealt with by the Home Department; and its Secretary, A.E. Porter, wrote to the Quaid on June 15, 1946:

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Will you please refer to your demi-official letter dated the 27th April 1946 to Mr. Weightman regarding Dr. Abdul Hafiz Akmut and his two friends, Dr. Zafar Hassan and Mr. Abdul Rahman Riaz now in Turkey? The normal procedure for persons wishing to come to India is to apply to the local British Consular authorities for visas or passports for India, according as they have renounced or retained British Indian nationality; and I am inclined to think that the most suitable course, should you choose to follow it, would be to advise Dr. Abdul Hafiz and his friends to make the necessary application to the British Consulate at Ankara.

Yours sincerely,

A.E. Porter

The Quaid sent a copy of the letter to Mian Abdul Aziz the same day:

My dear Aziz,

With reference to the return of Dr. Abdul Hafiz Akmut and his two friends, Dr. Zafar Hassan and Mr. Abdul Rahman Riaz, I have received the enclosed reply from the Government of India, Home Department, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith which

speaks for itself. You can now communicate with Dr. Abdul Hafiz Akmut and his friends accordingly.

Hoping you are well.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Subsequently on August 26, 1946, Dr. Akmut again wrote to the Quaid from Ankara:

Dear Sir,

Nearly five months ago, I had the honour to write and request you on behalf of three Indian Muslims (including myself) to be good enough to bring their case before the Government of India in order to obtain permission for them to return home after a banishment of nearly three decades. We were quite sure to hear from you in this matter in the near future, particularly because in his letter of 6th May last, my brother Mian Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law of Lahore, had informed me that he had received a letter from you (dated 2nd May) to the following effect:

> "I have received your letter of the 29th April, and I have already moved in the matter on the receipt of your brother's letter, and I am waiting for further information."

But we are still waiting for good news from you, both impatiently as well as patiently—impatiently, because after this long period of exile we, naturally enough, wish to be with our dear ones and friends at home as soon as possible on account of the greater uncertainty of life in advanced years; and patiently, because we, in exile, have learnt to be patient, particularly when we have to beg others for help and therefore must need wait, whether we will or not. But at the same time we are fully alive to the fact that you are very very busy with by far the greater and weightier issues than ours; but we find ourselves

in that situation which our great poet Ghalib describes so beautifully:

عاشقی صبر طلب اور تمنا بیتاب
دل کا کیا رنگ کروں خون جگر ہونے تک
ہم نے مانا کہ تغافل نہ کروگے، لیکن
خاک ہوجائینگے ہم تم کو خبر ہونے تک

Anyhow we hope that a personality like yours, being able to make a clear picture of our hapless state, will forgive us for our impatience and will do his best to help us as soon as possible in spite of all the urgent work.

In the meantime, I have my passport ready and shall apply for a visa to the British Ambassador as soon as he returns from his summer vacation in Istanbul to Ankara. On my request for this visa, I believe that he, in all probability, will tell me to wait till he has written and received instructions about it from the Government of India. In such a case, I shall take the liberty to inform you at once by aerial post or even cable and request you to undertake such steps as you may deem necessary.

Thanking you for the trouble in ancitipation, and wishing you complete success in your struggle for the rights of the Muslim people of India.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

Abdul Hafiz

The Quaid replied to him on September 11, 1946, advising him the position:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter and beg to inform you that I was informed by the Government of India

that you should apply for a visa to the British Ambassador. I had intimated to Mr. Aziz, enclosing a copy of the letter which I had received from the Government of India's department concerned, hoping that he would inform you.

Yours faithfully,

The letter was acknowledged by Dr. Akmut on November 8, 1946:

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter dated Bombay 11th September which I received on the 2nd of November. As I informed you in my letter of 26th August last, I applied for a visa to the British Consul in Ankara on the 6th of September. Two weeks later I asked the Consul again about the visa. He told me then that he had wired to the Government of India on the 6th of September asking them to instruct him about the visa, but had so far received no answer.

After the receipt of your letter, I went to the British Embassy on the 5th of November and spoke about the matter with the first secretary of the British Embassy. He said he was also informed about my request for visa to India but, he added, that neither the Embassy nor the Consulate had so far received any instructions from the Government of India. Thereupon I showed him your letter. He said he could not understand why the Government of India had not replied to the telegram which the British Consul had sent them on the 6th of September; but he promised me to send another telegram to the Government of India to remind them about the matter and to request them to send him instructions about the visa at the earliest possible opportunity. I am now writing you these lines to inform you about the matter as it stands now.

I have received no letter from my brother Mian Abdul Aziz for the last two months, so that I have not received the copy of the letter of Government of India which you had [been] kind enough to send him. I feel deeply afflicted for his continued silence and I am so afraid that he may not be feeling well. That is the chief reason that I trouble you again and request you in the name of mercy to be kind enough to inform me by the return post whether you will be good enough to bring my case before the Central Legislative Assembly or the Interim Government in order to solve this matter soon and definitely. I request you for this step because somehow or other I feel that the Political Department of the Government of India, not having undergone any radical change, will not give any definite answer but will try to put off the question as far as possible in the way it has already done. I am quite sure that the question of my return home can be solved positively and quickly only in the way I have indicated. I hold this view for the fact that more difficult cases have been brought to positive solution in this manner. As I heard over All-India Radio the other day, even members of the "Provisional Government" founded by the late Subhas Chandra Bose are now at home and the members of the I.N.A. have mostly returned home.

Banished as I am from home, I can only beg you as the president of the All-India Muslim League to take up my case in your hands. Surely I shall not be disappointed in my this request.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed of the Aligarh Muslim University also knows me well, and will no doubt tell you that I could be very useful at home.

In the end I must request you to kindly send me your reply per air mail, because in this way I get

letters from India in 7 days instead of in 7 or eight weeks.

Waiting anxiously for your kind reply.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

Abdul Hafiz

Meanwhile, the Government of India lifted the restrictions on the entry of Dr. Akmut. The Quaid was informed about it on November 7, 1946, by Mian Abdul Aziz:

My dear Qaid Azam Sahib,

In continuation of my letter re: my brother Dr. Abdul Hafiz, who is in Turkey, which I sent on the 29th of October last along with a copy of my petition to the Government of India, the Home Member of the Interim Government got this petition on the 31st of October. I had also sent a copy of the petition to Raizada Hans Raj, Bar-at-Law, M.L.A., (Central), who is an old friend of mine and who told me that he would take it direct to the Home Member, Mr. Patel, and speak to him, which he did, with the result that I received a letter from the P.A. of the Home Member, dated 1st of November, *viz.*, on the following day to the effect that restrictions against Dr. Abdul Hafiz about his entry into India have been withdrawn. Thank God that we will be able to meet after 42 years to live together. I, therefore, beg to keep you informed of it.

With very kind regards and praying for the success of your activities.

Yours sincerely,

Abdul Aziz

* * *

This volume will not be complete unless correspondence relating to two incidents is reproduced. These incidents by themselves are, of course, minor; but the relevant letters give a clear picture of how meticulously the Quaid followed certain principles even in small commonplace matters, not to mention crucial matters of national importance.

The Quaid's cars were serviced and repaired by the Bombay Garage. Once he sent his La Salle for repair of its fan belt. After the repair, a bill for Rs. 38 was sent by the garage. The repairs did not prove satisfactory, as after a few weeks the car again developed the same trouble. Necessary repairs were made again. The garage sent another bill for the same items for which the earlier bill was made out.

The bill was received by the Quaid at a time when he was very busy. He had gone on tour to Aligarh where he stayed till March 14, 1944. On March 18, 1944, he proceeded to Lahore from Delhi. The Lahore visit, which more or less, lasted till May 8, 1944, was momentous. It was during this period that the majority of Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly decided to follow the lead given by Sir Chotu Ram and others of his ilk, deserting the Muslim cause. While engaged even in such vital issues of national importance, billing by the garage for the same items twice did not escape the Quaid's attention. He wrote to the Bombay Garage on March 15, 1944:

Dear Sir,

Last month when I was in Bombay and when the fan of my car was found giving trouble, I enquired into the matter more carefully, and I found that although you had repaired and renewed the fan belt and repaired the pulley, it was very defective; and your bills were paid for this work. I sent the car again to your garage informing you that the car had very nearly taken fire and the fan belt was burnt. Instead of going into the matter carefully, the fan belt was renewed and the car was sent back, with the result

that it again after a little while took fire. I saw personally your Mr. Noor Mohamed and represented the matter to him; as a result I understand you have now put the matter right, although I had no opportunity of testing it as I left Bombay. I, therefore, think, in fairness, you will not expect me to pay your bill once again for October 29, for renewing fan belt and repairing pulley for Rs. 38, and again for February 7, to repairing fan, for Rs. 12. For the rest of your bills, I am sending you a cheque herewith for Rs. 47/14/6; and the other two bills I am returning with the remark "In dispute".

Yours faithfully,

The garage deleted the charges for repairing the pulley, but claimed the cost of belt. Their letter dated March 30, 1944, reads:

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, enclosing a cheque for Rs. 47/14/6 in payment o our bills, for which we thank you.

In view of the remarks contained in your letter under reply, we are cancelling our bill No. R/1935 dated 24-2-44 for Rs. 12/- and trust you will appreciate our action.

As regards our bill No. R/1456 dated 29-10-43 in dispute, we are deleting our labour charge for repairs to the pulley, and enclose herewith our amended bill for the cost of the fan belt only. We shall now thank you to kindly let us have your cheque in settlement of this bill at an early date.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

Works Manager

It was not a matter of making payment, but a question of principle. The Quaid, therefore, wrote again on April 10, 1944, to the Bombay Garage:

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th of March 1944. My objection was not only to the item of Rs. 12 for repairing fan, but also to the belt and the repairing for the pulley mentioned in your bill No. R/1456 dated the October 29, 1943, for the belt and repairing the pulley; the bill has been already paid to you, and my objection is that that was defectively done and the belt was burnt down. Hence I cannot pay twice over the bill, nor for the repair of the fan twice over which was not done properly and, therefore, I have already paid you for what I considered is your proper due.

Hoping that you will now close this account.

Yours faithfully,

The Bombay Garage cancelled the bill.

* * *

In the summer of 1945, when he went to Matheran for rest and stayed in Readymoney Lodge, a pendant holder of an electric light broke and had to be replaced. The Matheran Electric Supply Company Limited did the repairs and sent a bill for Rs. 10 for putting right one short circuit, attending all lights, installing one pendant holder, and putting the light in order.

When the Quaid received the bill, he pointed out that the actual work related to replacement of only a holder and, therefore, asked for reducing the amount. The Company wrote on May 11, 1945:

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your pointing out what nature of work was carried out at your premises. Any way, it

does not affect the total amount of bill, and we send the bill in corrected form.

We hope that my workman had made it quite clear before carrying out the work that our charge is Rs. 10 for such work. On your agreeing to pay the same he had carried out the work.

Please accept the bill in its corrected form and arrange to pay the same at an early date.

Thanking you.

We remain,

Yours faithfully,

Manager

The contents of the letter jarred upon the Quaid's sense of propriety. In his reply dated May 13, 1945, he dealt with the contentions of the Company in details:

Dear Sirs,

I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May, 1945, and also your bill. Your first bill was for Rs. 10 (Rupees ten) for items mentioned therein, which was returned to you for correction and which was for the following items, as far as I can say from my memory:

1. Putting right one short circuit;
2. Attending and examining all my lights; and
3. Fixing one pendant holder, attending to installation and putting that light in order.

When it was pointed out to you that the bill was incorrect, and you have sent me this amended bill, omitting items 1 and 2. The only work that was done was merely fixing one pendant holder, instead of the old one which was broken. Nothing more, and your

workman saw me and the work was pointed out by me to him; and it did not take him more than about ten minutes to do this work. I never agreed with your workman that I would pay Rs. 10 for this work. I merely stated in your book or the slip which was sent to me stating the work that was actually done by your workman, which you must have received. The new pendant holder can be had for about twelve annas at the most, and the wages of your workman's charges, Rs. 1/8 or at the most Rs. 2. I am, therefore, surprised at your demand in having sent me bill again for Rs. 10. It is not a question of money, a few Rupees here or there. It is not right on the part of the Matheran Electric Supply Company Limited, a concern which practically exercises the monopoly, to demand these exorbitant charges in this fashion, instead of charging reasonably for the actual work done. I, therefore, request you to revise your demand in the light of these observations of mine, as on principle I object to this demand of yours for which there is no justification.

Yours faithfully,

The Company again wrote on May 15, 1945:

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your letter dated 13th May 1945, objecting to our bill No. 302, dated 10th May 1945, stating that it is unreasonable.

We will like to point out that the bill is sent to you as it is sent to everybody. No special charges were charged to you. We hope you will agree with us that in Matheran the months of business are only October, 15 days of December on Christmas, and April and May. For the facility of our consumers during these 3½ months we have to maintain a staff for carrying out repairs for all the year round. Looking from that angle, we hope you will agree that our charges cannot be as that in Bombay or any other place.

In our last letter we thanked you for bringing to our notice the mistakes that had crept in the bill submitted to you firstly. Here general complaints are for removing short circuit; and as such, by force of habit it was stated that to cost of removing short circuit etc. etc. On your pointing out the mistakes, we submitted to you a corrected bill which you retained without giving your signature on the peon book. Moreover, we are guided by our head office in Bombay and we have to carry out their instructions. Charges for such minor works are fixed by them only. We have sent to you the bill of Rs. 10 in accordance with the instructions received from the head office for such type of work carried out. Moreover, there are standing instructions to carry out work after taking the estimated repair charges in advance. We did not think fit and becoming us to demand from you Rs. 10 in advance before carrying out the work. Now we have submitted the bill to you. As it is billed in accordance with the instruction from our head office we are not authorised to revise it also. From the Company's point of view they have charged most reasonably. As we have gone against the instructions of our head office by not demanding advance money from you, we shall have to pay up the bill from our own pocket if you are unwilling to pay it up on principles.

Please let us know through the bearer of this letter whether you will be paying up the bill or not as submitted to you, so that we can decide finally by paying ourselves the bill if you object paying on principles. Any way the Company shall recover the amount from us, because we made the mistake of not taking the estimated charges in advance.

Our man who had been to your place informs me that he had told you that the charge will be Rs. 10, to which you first refused; and then when he was returning, thinking that the work is not be carried out, you told him to carry out the work and told him that

you will be paying up the charges. We send the same man to deliver this letter to you who had carried out the work, so that if you have not told him to pay up the bill you can clarify the matters with him.

Any way, now we are not desirous to waste more time on such minor affair. We shall be thankful to you if you will kindly let us know your decision in the matter immediately through the bearer of this letter.

Hoping to be excused for troubling you on such minor affairs.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,

Manager

The Quaid refused to pay more than Rs. 3, which the Company did not accept.

* * *

I have tried to avoid including in these selections anything that has already been published. However, I end this volume with a reproduction of the Quaid's Will, executed on May 30, 1939, in Bombay:

(1) This is my last Will and testament; all other wills testaments of mine stand cancelled.

(2) I appoint my sister Fatima Jinnah, Mr. Mahomedalli Chaiwalla, Solicitor, Bombay, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of Delhi as my executrix and executors and also my trustees.

(3) All shares stocks and securities and current accounts now standing in the name of my sister Fatima Jinnah are her absolute property. I have given them all to her by way of gifts during my life time and I confirm the same, and she can dispose them of in any manner she pleases as her absolute property.

(4) I now hereby bequeath to her my house and all that land with appurtenances, out-houses, etc., situated at Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, including all the furniture, plates, silver and motor cars in its entirety as it stands absolutely and she can dispose it of in any manner she pleases by will, deed or otherwise.

(5) I also direct my executors to pay her during her life time Rs. 2,000/- two thousands per month (for her maintenance and other requirements for her).

(6) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs. 100/- one hundred to my sister Rahemat Cassimbhoy Jamal during her life time.

(7) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs. 100/- one hundred to my sister Mariam Abdenbhoy Peerbhoy during her life time.

(8) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs. 100/- one hundred to my sister Shereen during her life time.

(9) I direct my executors to pay per month Rs. 100/- one hundred to my brother Ahmed during his life time.

(10) I direct my executors to set apart Rs. 2,00,000 [two lacs or (two hundred thousands)] which will at 6% bring an income of Rs. 1,000/- one thousand and pay the income thereof whatever it be to my daughter every month for her life or during her life time and after her death the corpus of two lacs so set apart to be divided equally between her children, males or females, in default of any issue the corpus to fall into my residuary estate.

(11) I direct my executors to pay the following by way of gifts to the institutions mentioned:

(A) I bequeath Rs. 25,000/- Twenty five thousands to the Anjumane-Islam School, Bombay, situated at Hornby Road. opposite Boribunder Station, and next to THE TIMES OF INDIA Buildings.

(B) I bequeath Rs. 50,000/- Fifty thousands to the University of Bombay.

(C) I bequeath Rs. 25,000/- Twenty five thousands to the Arabic College, Delhi.

(12) Subject to the above, all my residuary estate including the corpus that may fall after the lapse of life interests or otherwise to be divided into three parts—and I bequeath one part to Aligarh University, one part to Islamia College, Peshawar, and one part to Sindh Maddressa of Karachi.

A codicil was executed on October 25, 1940. It reads:

This is my codicil to the Will. I have an account with the National Bank of India Bombay as account No. 2 and also I hold (500) Five hundred

shares of the Reserve Bank of India now in the possession of the Bank standing in my name but purchased out of the money from the account No. 2

This account and all moneys deposited and invested were given to me personally by various public spirited donors to use them and do what I liked with them for the uplift of the Musulmans. I therefore have full and absolute power to dispose them of in any way I may consider proper. I also have received a donation of one lac to use it for the purpose of establishing Muslim League press and paper in such manner as I may consider proper.

I now having full power of disposition bequeath the same to my executors and they are to use the capital and/or interest thereof in any way they may consider proper relating to this account.

Besides this amount and 500 shares of the Reserve Bank I have other accounts of mine own in the National Bank of India and also in the Imperial Banks at Bombay and New Delhi but those and all other accounts abroad with any Bank or Banks are my own absolute property and will be governed by will of mine that I have already made.

Subsequently, on November 19, 1946, the Quaid set aside the moneys contributed for establishing newspapers, and formed a charitable Trust for managing them.

* * *

The letters dealing with the personal matters exceed by far what a book of the size of the present volume could permit. Much as I would have liked to include most of them, I could not for obvious reasons publish more than a representative minimum.

The forthcoming volumes contain correspondence relating to organizational and political matters. In all of them I have restricted myself to stating facts, and not to make any conjectures. I have followed the dictum laid down by the Quaid:

> " . . .it is the duty of an author not to give publicity to any incidental facts relating to the life of anyone without making sure of them beforehand."

وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَإِلَيْهِ أُنِيبُ ۝

Appendices

Rules and regulations of the All India Muslim League with a discussion of various changes brought from time to time.

The Rules and Regulations of the All India Muslim League were printed at the Institute Press, Aligarh, in 1909. Its title cover is reproduced:

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

ADOPTED BY

REPRESENTATIVE MEETING OF INDIAN MUSALMANS, HELD AT KARACHI, ON THE 29TH AND 30TH DECEMBER 1907, IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION No. III, PASSED AT THE DACCA MEETING OF THE LEAGUE OF 30TH DECEMBER 1906

AND

CORRECTED BY

A MEETING OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE HELD AT ALIGARH ON THE 18TH AND 19TH MARCH 1908

PRINTED BY MUMTAZ-UD-DIN AT THE INSTITUTE PRESS

ALIGARH

—

1909.

The published Rules contained an introduction by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. It was written in the month of January 1908, before the League meeting held at Aligarh on March 18 and 19, 1908, had finalized the rules. The Introduction reads:

When, on the 1st of October 1906, the now famous deputation of Indian Musalmans waited with their memorial on His Excelleny the Viceroy at Simla, the leaders of the community seized the opportunity for consulting each other and deliberating on the measures to be adopted, with a view to [protect] the political rights of the Musalmans of India in a systematic and permanent manner. A movement of the same nature had already begun in United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, long before this date—in October 1901—when summarily the conclusion was arrived at that, for the object in view, local Associations should be formed in each province, besides an important and weighty corporation for the whole of India, composed of men conspicuous for their ability and soundness of judgement, and that, through the instrumentality of all these Associations, more permanent arrangements might be made for the protection of the rights and privileges of the Musalmans of India. But, inasmuch as shortly after the date of the Simla Deputation, the annual meeting of the All India Mohammadan Educational Conference was to have been held at Dacca, it was publicly announced that, on the termination of the proceedings of the Educational Conference, the question of the formation of a political association will be fully considered, and that those interested in the subject could, by proceeding to Dacca, take part in these deliberations. Accordingly, the 30th of December 1906 happens to be the memorable date on which, after due deliberation and discussion, the foundation of the All-India Muslim League was laid at its inaugural meeting at Dacca. The report of these proceedings has already been published.

At the above mentioned meeting, in accordance with Resolution II, a Provisional Committee, composed of about sixty members, was formed in order to draw out a constitution for the League. A rough draft was accordingly made and, when ready, was widely distributed for further examination and criticism, and was also published in the newspapers. Hence, criticisms on this draft were received from many quarters, and these having been duly considered, it was much altered and amended. The third Resolution passed at the Dacca meeting was to the effect that the Provisional Committee be authorised to convene, at a suitable time and place, a meeting of Indian Musalmans of light and leading representing

the various provinces, for the consideration and adoption, with the necessary amendments and alterations, of the skeleton constitution framed in this manner. Bankipur had been proposed, some months ago, as the place of meeting for this representative body. But when opinions on this point were received from the various provinces of India, it was finally decided to convene the meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Karachi, on the termination of the proceedings of the Educational Conference. Arrangements were accordingly made and notified to the general public, and on the conclusion of the business of the All-India Educational Conference, meetings of the League were held on the 29th and 30th December. On the former date, Sir Adamji Pirbhai, K.C.I.E., was elected President at a meeting to which the general public had free access, and at which the press was fully represented. In spite of the weight of advancing years, and moved solely by sentiments of sympathy for his co-religionists, he had accepted their unanimous invitation, and travelling all the way from Bombay had reached Karachi at no inconsiderable personal discomfort. He thus laid his community under a deep debt of gratitude by presiding at the meeting and delivering his moderately worded and thoroughly logical address. After other formal business, the proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the President. It was then decided that such members as were present at Karachi of the Provisional Committee formed at Dacca under Resolution II—which included the members of the Simla Deputation—adding to their number certain other gentlemen who had come to Karachi as delegates, should form themselves into a Committee, and should first of all deliberate on the draft rules and regulations of the All-India Muslim League and adopt them.

In accordance with this resolution, for two full days—the 29th and 30th December—every section and sub-section of the rules and regulations was fully considered and discussed by the Committee (the names of those members will be found in the separate proceedings of the Committee), and after many alterations and amendations, the draft was finally adopted in the subjoined form.

ALIGARH: (Sd.) MUSHTAQ HUSAIN,

January 1908. *Secretary, All India Muslim League*

The Rules and Regulations of the All India Muslim League read:

NAME

1. The League shall be named the "All-India Muslim League."

OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE

2. The objects of the League shall be as under:

(*a*) To promote among Indian Musalmans feelings of loyalty towards the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise, as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures.

(*b*) To protect the political and other rights of Indian Musalmans and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language.

(*c*) So far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (*a*) and (*b*) of this section, to promote friendly feelings between the Musalmans and other communities of India.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE

3. Every candidate for membership of the All-India Muslim League must be—

(*a*) a British Indian Musalman subject;

(*b*) not less than twenty-five years of age;

(*c*) capable of reading and writing with facility in any one of the languages of India;

(*d*) in possession of an income of not less than five hundred rupees a year. The income of father or mother will be considered as that of the candidate himself;

(*e*) in individual cases, an exception may be made, with the sanction of the Central Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and a candidate exempted from any of the above conditions.

NUMBER AND CLASS OF MEMBERS

4. The number of members of this League shall not be more than four hundred, and their allotment to the different provinces shall be as hereunder stated. Not less than fifty and not more than two hundred of this number shall be appointed by nomination from different provinces, after the adoption of these

rules and regulation, and at the same meeting at which they are adopted; the remainder shall be gradually appointed afterwards, in accordance with section 5 of these rules and regulations. The nominated members shall consist of the following groups, *viz., First*—Those members—thirty-three in number—of the Simla Deputation of 1st October 1906, who are alive and, who have not entered the service of the Government. *Second*—The thirty-five members of the All-India Muslim League, appointed at the inaugural meeting held at Dacca on the 30th December 1906 under Resolution II, for the framing of these rules and regulations, excepting such of those members as have already been included in the first group. *Third*—Three members from among the delegates summoned to Karachi, under Resolution III of the above mentioned meeting at Dacca. So that at the time of adopting these rules and regulations seventy-one persons, in all, were appointed members of the All-India Muslim League, their names being as under:

First Group: Members of the Simla Deputation of October 1906.

1. His Highness Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E. .. *Bombay.*
2. Shahzada Bakhtiar Shah, C.I.E., Head of the Mysore Family .. *Calcutta.*
3. Hon'ble Malik Umar Hayat Khan, C.I.E., Lieutenant, 18th Prince of Wales Tiwana Lancers .. .. *Tiwana, Zila Shahpur.*
4. Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mohammad Shah Din, Barristar-at-Law .. *Lahore.*
5. Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Choudhry .. .. .. *Mymensingh, Eastern Bengal.*
6. Nawab Bahadur Syed Amir Hasan Khan, C.I.E. .. .. .. *Calcutta.*
7. Nawab Nasir Husain Khan, Khiyal .. *Calcutta.*
8. Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, Persian Consul-General .. .. *Murshidabad, Calcutta.*
9. Mr. Syed Ali Imam, Barristar-at-Law .. *Patna (Behar).*

10.	Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan Bahadur ..	*Patna* (*Behar*).
11.	Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohi-ud-din, President, Carunatic Family Association	*Madras.*
12.	Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad Sahib, Barrister-at-Law	*Bombay.*
13.	Ibrahim Bhai Adamji Pirbhai ..	*Bombay.*
14.	Maulvi Abdur Rahim Sahib, Barrister-at-Law	*Calcutta.*
15.	Syed Allah Adha Shah, Special Magistrate and Vice-President, Zamindari Association	*Khairpur* (*Sindh*).
16.	Maulana H. M. Malak, Head of the Medani Bagh Bora	*Nagpur.*
17.	Hon'ble Khalifa Syed Mohammad Husain Sahib, Khan Bahadur Mushir-ud-Dola Mumtaz-ul-Mulk° ..	*Patiala.*
18.	Khan Bahadur Colonel Abdul Majeed Khan Sahib, Foreign Minister ..	*Patiala.*
19.	Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah Sahib, Honorary Magistrate ..	*Amritsar.*
20.	Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi Sahib, Barrister-at-Law	*Lahore.*
21.	Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq Sahib	*Amritsar.*
22.	Maulvi Hafiz Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan Sahib, Haziq-ul-Mulk ..	*Delhi.*
23.	Mohammad Ihtishan Ali Sahib, *Rais* ..	*Kakori* (*Oudh*)
24.	Mr. Syed Nabi-Ullah, Barrister-at-Law ..	*Kara, Zilla Allahabad.*
25.	Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain Sahib,°° Barrister-at-Law	*Allahabad.*

° Since deceased,

°° Since appointed Judge, Allahabad High Court, therefore not eligible.

26. Mr. Syed Abdul Rauf, Barrister-at-Law *Allahabad.*

27. Abdus Salam Khan Sahib, Retired Sub-Judge .. .. .. *Rampur.*

28. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Muzamil-Ullah Khan Sahib, *Rais* .. *Bhikampur, Zilla Aligarh.*

29. Hon'ble Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan Sahib, *Rais* of Datooli .. .. *Aligarh.*

30. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan Sahib, Barrister-at-Law .. .. *Aligarh.*

31. Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Maulvi Mushtak Husain Sahib, Intisar Jang, *Rais* .. *Amroha, Zilla Moradabad.*

32. Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sahib, *Rais* .. .. .. *Habibganj, Aligarh.*

33. Nawab Syed Sirdar Ali Khan Sahib .. *Bombay.*

Second Group: Members under Resolution II of the proceedings of the inaugural meeting held at Dacca on 30th December 1906, not already included in the first group, nor admitted into Government service.

EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

1. Hon'ble Nawab Mohammad Salimullah, Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. .. .. *Dacca.*

2. Maulvi Himayat-Uddin Sahib .. *Barisal.*

3. Maulvi Abdul Majeed Sahib, B.A., LL.B. *Sylhet.*

WESTERN BENGAL AND BEHAR

4. Mr. Shamsul Huda, Vakil .. .. *Calcutta.*

5. Mr. Sirajul Islam, Vakil .. .. *Calcutta.*

6. Mr. Abdul Hamid, Editor, MUSLIM CHRONICLE .. .. .. *Calcutta.*

7. Mazharul Haq, Barrister-at-Law .. *Bankipore, Patna.*

8. Mr. Hasan Imam, Barrister-at-Law .. *Patna.*

9. Mr. Nurul Haq, Secretary, Mohammadans Association .. .. *Cuttack.*

THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

10. Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister-at-Law *Lucknow.*

11. Syed Zahur Ahmed Sahib, B.A., LL.B. *Lucknow.*

12. Maulvi Mohammad Nasim Sahib, Vakil *Lucknow.*

13. Maulvi Khwaja Gholam-us-Saklain Sahib, B.A., LL.B. .. .. *Lucknow.*

14. Raja Naushad Ali Khan Sahib .. *Lucknow.*

15. Maulvi Mohammad Ishaq Sahib, B.A., LL.B. .. .. .. *Allahabad.*

16. Mr. Mohammad Rauf, Barrister-at-Law *Allahabad.*

17. Haji Mohammad Musa Khan Sahib, *Rais* .. .. .. *Datooli, Aligarh.*

18. Maulvi Abdullah Jan Sahib, Vakil .. *Saharanpur.*

19. Maulvi Abdul Majeed Sahib, Barrister-at-Law .. .. .. *Allahabad.*

20. Shaikh Abdulla Sahib, B.A., LL.B. .. *Aligarh.*

PUNJAB

21. Mr. Fazal Hosain, Barrister-at-Law .. *Lahore.*

22. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Editor, OBSERVER .. *Lahore.*

23. Shaikh Gholam Mohammad Sahib, Editor, VAKEEL .. .. *Amritsar.*

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

24. Mufti Fida Mohammad Khan Sahib, Barrister-at-Law .. .. *Peshawar.*

25. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law .. *Peshawar.*

BOMBAY (WITH SINDH)

26. Mr. A. K. M. Dehlavi, Barrister-at-Law *Karachi.*

27. Mr. Gholam Mohammad Munshi, Barrister-at-Law .. .. *Rajkote.*

28. Mr. Mohammad Ali, B.A. .. *Sidhpur, Gujarat.*

29. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan Sahib, Barrister-at-Law .. .. *Chowpaty, Bombdy.*

MADRAS

30. Khan Bahadur Abdul Hadi Badshah Sahib .. .. .. *Madras.*

31. Mr. Yaqub Hasan, Proprietor of the MUSLIM PATRIOT .. .. *Madras.*

32. Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Sahib, G.C.F. *Coromandel.*

33. Abdul Hamid Hasan Sahib, B.A., LL.B., Editor, MUSLIM PATRIOT .. *Madras.*

CENTRAL PROVINCES

34. Khan Sahib Mohammad Amir Khan, Pleader .. .. .. *Nagpur.*

BURMA

35. A. S. Rafiqi Sahib .. .. *Rangoon.*

Third Group:

1. Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, M.D., I.M.S. .. .. .. —

2. Shaikh Mohmmad Abdul Qadir Sahib, Barrister-at-Law .. .. *Delhi.*

3. Mr. Hisamuddin, Barrister-at-Law .. *Lahore.*

5. The maximum number of members of the All-India Muslim League, to be taken from the various provinces, shall be as under:

(1)	Agra and Oudh {Agra 45, Oudh 25}	70
(2)	Punjab	70
(3)	Bombay, including Sindh {Bombay 30, Sindh 10} ..	40
(4)	Madras	25
(5)	North-West Frontier Province 10 and Baluchistan 5	15
(6)	Upper Bengal, Behar and Orissa	70
(7)	Eastern Bengal and Assam	70
(8)	Berar, Central India and Ajmer	15
(9)	Burma	10
(10)	Muhammadan British subjects residing in Native States or elsewhere outside British India, together with such subjects of Native States as the League may exceptionally admit as members under the provisions of section 3, sub-section (*e*) ..	15
	Total ..	400

6. At each decennial census, after the publication of the census report, the above figures and their apportionment to the different provinces may be revised; and in determining the number of members for each province, so far as may be expedient, the following points must be taken into account:

(1) The strength of the Mohammadan population;

(2) Their educational condition;

(3) Their financial position and status.

7. (*a*) The members appointed to each province under section 5 shall be elected by any local Provincial League that may have been created by the All-India Muslim League. Should a province be geographically sub-divided into minor provinces, any League established in such minor province shall be included under the definition of the term

"Provincial Muslim League". Upper Bengal, for example, may be sub-divided into Upper Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

(*b*) Should no such Provincial League exist in a province, any District or Town League or other Association affiliated to the All-India Muslim League, shall elect the proportion of members due to them. In order to fill the remaining vacancies in such province, the Central Committee shall invite other parts of the province to elect representative members; and in case such members are not forthcoming, may itself elect the remaining members.

8. Members of the All-India Muslim League shall be elected for five years; but shall be eligible for re-election under the provisions of section 7.

9. If from any cause the vacancies in the membership cannot be filled up the business of the League shall proceed as usual: provided that, under no circumstances, shall the number of members, including the honorary office-bearers be less than fifty.

10. After election, every member shall pay to the account of the All-India Muslim League an entrance fee of Rs. 25 before he can be registered as member of the League; and in addition to this he shall pay, in advance, an annual subscription of Rs. 25. Under no circumstances shall a member be entitled to any refund of these amounts.

11. No person elected to be a member of the All-India Muslim League shall be considered a member until such time as he has paid his entrance fee and subscription, and has caused his name to be entered in the register of members, under the provision of section 10. But those who were admitted members at the annual meeting of 30th December 1907, at Karachi, and who have not already paid their entrance fee or annual subscription or both at the meeting shall be allowed time for such payment up to the 15th February 1908, at the latest. Members elected in the future shall be allowed six weeks' time from date of election for the payment of their entrance fees and annual subscription. If within the time limits prescribed above the whole amount due is not paid into the office of the Secretary, All-India Muslim League, the election of the defaulting members shall be *null and void.*

12. At meetings of the All-India Muslim League, no members shall exercise any of the privileges of membership unless and until he has paid up all sums due from him up to the date of such meeting.

13. Not less than eight weeks before the date of the annual meeting, the Secretary shall issue to every member a list of the names of all persons till then duly registered as members in conformity with the above rules and regulations.

14. For the purposes of the All-India Muslim League, the year shall commence on each 1st day of January, and end on each 31st day of December. Members appointed at the annual meeting in December shall be liable for the payment of their entrance fees and subscriptions from the 1st of January next following.

15. At the annual meetings of the All-India Muslim League [held under sub-section (*c*) of section 23] the *quorum* shall be formed by not less than one-fifth of the total number of members borne on the rolls of the League. At other meetings [held under sub-section (*d*) of section 23], not less than one-eight of such members shall form the *quorum*.

16. Except for the election of members under sections 7 and 3, neither votes sent in writing nor proxies shall be permitted to count at any of the meetings of the All-India Muslim League.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

17. For the purpose of carrying out practically the objects of the League and exercising other executive functions, a Central Committee—of which the members, not less than thirty nor more than forty in number, excluding the office-bearers, must be elected by a majority of votes—shall be formed from amongst the members of the All-India Muslim League. So far as possible, in electing members for the Central Committee, the apportionment of their number for each province should be in the ratio to that province.*

18. The members of the Central Committee shall be elected by ballot; but any member of the All-India Muslim League, unable to attend personally at such election, may send his vote in writing so as to reach the Secretary not less than three days before the date of the meeting at which such election is to take place.

* In conformity with sections 5 and 6.

19. (*a*) The members of the Central Committee shall be elected for three years and shall be eligible for re-election.

(*b*) If the term of membership of the All-India Muslim League, of any member of the Central Committee, should expire before his term of office as member of that Committee, he shall, nevertheless, continue to be a member of the League until the expiration of such term of office: provided that such member continues to pay his annual subscription under the operation of section 10.

20. The office-bearers of the All-India Muslim League, specified under section 25, in addition to those appointed under section 17, shall be *ex-officio* members and office-bearers of the Central Committee.

21. The Central Committee, to be formed under sections 17—20, shall carry into effect all the powers and obligations set forth in these Rules and Regulations as appertaining to it. But until the formation of such Central Committee, the All-India Muslim League shall itself perform all such functions.

22. At meetings of the Central Committee, the *quorum* shall be formed by five members, including office-bearers.

23. The manner in which the Central Committee shall transact its business:

(*a*) On behalf of the Central Committee to secure by correspondence the views and opinions of the members of the League on any matter in hand, and to decide it in accordance with the majority of votes, and to adopt measures for giving practical effect to such decision.

(*b*) To temporarily postpone, for further consideration, any question that may be under discussion.

(*c*) To convene, at some suitable time and place, the annual meetings of the All-India Muslim League for the discussion of topics relating to its aims and objects.

(*d*) To convene, for the same purpose, at suitable times and places, meetings of the members of the League other than the annual meetings: provided that not less than one-third of the total number of members of the

League shall call on the Secretary of the Central Committee to hold such meetings; or that not less than two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee shall consider the holding of such meetings necessary.

(*e*) The Central Committee may permit other persons than members of the League to attend, as visitors, the annual and other meetings of the League, held respectively under sub-sections (*c*) and (*d*).

(*f*) For admission to the meetings of the League, held under sub-sections (*c*) and (*d*), the Central Committee may charge visitors such admission fees as it may think proper; it may also limit the number of such visitors, or make their admission subject to certain prescribed conditions.

(*g*) The Central Committee may exempt representatives of the Press from the payment of admission fees, and may permit them to attend the above mentioned meetings for the purpose of reporting the proceedings.

DUTIES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

24. The duties of the Central Committee shall be as under:

(*a*) So far as practicable, to endeavour to establish a Provincial League in each province.

(*b*) To take all necessary steps for giving practical effect to resolutions passed by the Central Committee or by the All-India Muslim League.

(*c*) To collect all information necessary and useful with reference to the objects of the League.

(*d*) So far as practicable, to settle by correspondence all matters which, under section 23 (*a*), may be considered suitable for settlement by correspondence.

(*e*) To send to the members of the All-India Muslim League the *agenda* of the annual and other meetings of the League, and to fix the time and place of such meetings.

(*f*) To appoint the President for the annual meetings of the League.

OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

25. The office-bearers of the All-India Muslim League shall be as below stated, and their election shall take place at a meeting of the League:

President	..	1
Vice-Presidents from various provinces	..	6
Secretary	..	1
Joint Secretaries	..	2

26. The names of candidates for offices of the All-India Muslim League shall be proposed by one member of the League and seconded by another member, and sent to the Secretary of the League not less than six weeks before the date of the meeting at which such names shall be put forward for election. The Secretary shall circulate the names of all such candidates, together with the names of their proposers and seconders, to every member of the League not less than four weeks before the date of the said meeting.

27. Members present at the meeting shall vote for the election of the office-bearers by ballot; but absent members may send their votes in writing to the Secretary.

28. Every officer-bearer shall be elected for a term of three years, and shall be eligible for re-election.

29. The Honorary Secretary shall be responsible for the working of his office and for its accounts.

30. The Honorary Secretary may appoint a temporary Sub-Committee for any special purpose.

31. The Honorary Secretary may, during his temporary absence appoint one of the Joint Secretaries as his *locum tenens*, advising the members of his action by circular letter.

32. The Joint Secretaries shall assist the Secretary in his work, and perform their duties under his guidance.

CESSATION OF OFFICE AND MEMBERSHIP

33. Every member or office-bearer of the League shall have the right to resign his office or membership.

34. In the event of three-fourthts of the members of the Central Committee sending in their votes to the effect that the

continued presence, as such, of any member of the League or of the Central Committee is prejudicial to the interests of the All-India Muslim League, the Central Committee may after giving such member an opportunity of clearing himself, sever all connections with him, pending the decision of the All-India Muslim League; and the Central Committee shall at the earliest opportunity lay the matter before the All-India Muslim League for final decision.

35. In the event of three-fourths of the members of the All-India Muslim League sending in thir votes to the effect that the continued presence, as such, of any member of the All-India Muslim League, or of the Central Committee, is prejudicial to the interest of the League, such member or office-bearer may be deprived of his membership, or his office, as the case may be.

THE FUNDS OF THE LEAGUE

36. All fees received from members and visitors, at the annual and other meetings, and all donations, subscriptions or other contributions which the League or the Central Committees may, from time to time, receive and collect, either for the promotion of the general objects of the League or for any special purpose shall constitute the Funds of the League.

37. The Funds of the League shall be deposited in the name of the All-India Muslim League, with the Bank of Bengal; but in any place at which the Bank of Bengal may not have a branch, such Funds may be deposited with any other Bank at the direction of the Central Committee; and the Secretary or in his absence his *locum tenens* may draw on such Funds under his signature.

38. (*a*) The members of the Central Committee shall appoint, annually, a Finance Committee, composed of three members in addition to the President, the Vice-President the Secretary and the Joint Secretary of the Committee.

(*b*) The Finance Committee shall prepare an annual budget of Income and Expenditure, which, after careful examination and necessary alteration, shall be passed by the Central Committee; and the Secretary may incur any expenditure therein provided for.

(*c*) At the end of each year the Finance Committee shall prepare a statement of the actual Income and

Expenditure for the year, which, after audit by a firm of Chartered Accountants, shall be submitted to the Central Committee and passed.

(*d*) The Finance Committee may on its own responsibility, expend a certain sum in excess of that sanctioned in the budget, on extraordinary and unforeseen items of expenditure—such sum not to exceed ten per cent of the money sanctioned in the budget. But, as soon as possible, such additional expenditure shall be brought to the notice of the Central Committee for final sanction.

RULES AND BYE-LAWS OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

39. (*a*) The Rules of the All-India Muslim League shall not be added to, amended or cancelled except at the annual meetings, and by a majority of the votes of not less than two-thirds of the members present at the League.

(*b*) All such additions and alterations shall be proposed by one member and seconded by at least one other member. The proposer shall send his proposal in writing, bearing the signature of the seconder, to the Secretary, not less than eight weeks before the date of the annual meeting. The Secretary shall circulate such resolutions among all the members of the League not less than five weeks before the date of the annual meting.

40. For the proper management of its own business, and for conducting such business belonging to the League as is not governed by any of the existing Rules and Regulations, the Central Committee may make bye-law: provided that no bye-law shall be considered valid, if it contravenes the fundamental principle of any of the recognised Rules and Regulations of the League.

It may be recalled that the aims and objects of the League were defined in the preliminary meeting of the Muslims held at Dacca on December 30, 1906. The resolution incorporating them was moved by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. It reads:

Resolved that this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decides that a Politi-

cal Association be formed, styled All India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

(c) To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

Parts (a) and (b) of the resolution were incorporated in Clause 2 of the Rules and Regulations without any variation in their wordings. The last portion (c), however, when incorporated, had been expressed differently:

> So far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (a) and (b) of this Section, to promote friendly feelings between the Musalmans and other communities of India.

The aims reflected the general political atmosphere prevailing at the time. In other respects, however, the Rules provided for the formation of a broad-based organization. The membership consisted of 400 members, elected by the provincial Leagues, for 5 years, and eligible for re-election. Rs. 25 was fixed as entrance fee and Rs. 25 as annual membership fee. It was necessary that a member should be a British Indian Muslim subject of 25 years of age, capable of reading and writing and possessing an income of Rs. 500 a year (self or by parents). There were no restrictions on the membership of the provincial Leagues, which were left to have their own rules and regulations. Some of them did not impose the conditions laid down in the Rules for the membership, while some followed them with certain variations.

A President, six Vice-Presidents, one Honorary Secretary and two Joint Secretaries, elected for a term of 3 years, comprised the office-bearers of the organization. The Rules further provided for the formation of a Central Committee of not less than 30 and not more than 40 members elected for 3 years for looking after the day-to-day work. The highest decision-making authority was, however, a general meeting. The constitution provided that a general meeting should be held every year and as or whenever required by the members and/or the Central Committee. A meeting held annually in ordinary course came to be called the Annual session, while a meeting held for a specific purpose was called a Special session.

A separate president was appointed by the Central Committee to preside over the annual sessions. He ceased to have any authority after the conclusion of the session.

The constitution was not a complete document. The relationship between the provincial Leagues and the parent body was not defined. Haji Moosa Khan, who, during the absence of Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, officiated as Honorary Secretary, wrote on November 10, 1909, to Nawab Viqarul Mulk:

> "...The present Rules and Regulations of the All India Muslim League are badly in need of amendment and modifications ... the present Rules have not clearly dealt with the relations that ought to exist between the Central League and the Provincial Leagues; and have not pointed out what control it ought to exercise over them. Moreover, nothing is mentioned regarding their relations between the Central League and the District League through Provincial Leagues. The rules in respect of receiving financial help by the parent League from the Provincial and District Leagues are silent."

No attention was paid to his observations; but in 1910, the number of members was raised from 400 to 800. The annual subscription was reduced to Rs. 20, payable in four instalments of Rs. 5 each. The Central Committee was renamed as COUNCIL. This term remained in use till the end.

In February 1912, Syed Wazir Hasan officiated as Secretary of the League. Soon thereafter, he requested all leading Muslims, including the Quaid, to propose suitable amendments in the League's Rules for bringing it up-to-date. Accordingly various proposals were received. On their bases a draft constitution was prepared and placed before the meeting of the Council, held on December 31, 1912.

This meeting was held at Lucknow under the presidentship of the Aga Khan and was well attended. (Some authors have stated that the meeting was held at Bankipore. They are wrong.) The Quaid attended the meeting. From the beginning, the meeting was dominated by the younger element. The discussions centered mainly on the proposals relating to the Leagues creed. The draft proposed the following objects:

(a) to maintain and promote among the people of this country feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown;

(b) to protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;

(c) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India;

(d) Without detriment to the foregoing objects, attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India, through constitutional means by bringing about, amongst others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes.

The amendments proposed to alter the League's complexion completely. The deletion of the term 'Musalmans' and the substitution of the phrase 'British Crown' for the 'British Government' in sub-clause (a) emphasized a wider outlook.

The amendment also deleted the phrase "any misconception that may arise as to the intentions of the Government with

regard to any of its measures". Similarly, the League's motto of placing the Muslim "aspirations before the Government in temperate language", was also dropped. The amendment to sub-clause (c) proposed more specific and higher aims—the promotion of 'friendship and union' with other communities—and did not restrict the League's activities to the promotion of friendly feelings between the communities which were loyal.

The proposals regarding the second and third objectives were approved without any opposition. The proposal for the first aim was, however, opposed. Mazhar-ul-Haque asked why, of all the people in India, the Muslims should make a speciality of expressing their loyalty. He thought that the League should give up insistence upon its own "chastity". Maulana Mohammad Ali was of different view. He declared that by "altering the expression 'loyalty to the British Government' into 'loyalty to the British Crown', we wish to emphasize the fact that it is the British connection which we consider essential and not the bureaucracy which is itself a political party". The Quaid pointed out that the League's claim might be taken as a reflection on the loyal feelings of other people. The objection raised by Mazharul Haque was, however, rejected; and the amendment was adopted as proposed.

The sub-clause relating to "Self-government" was much discussed. Maulana Mohammad Ali thought that "...it is not necessary to have it as an ideal, for we do not lose anything at the present time. If you do have an ideal, it may cause dissatisfaction between ourselves and between the Government."

Mazharul Haque opposed the proposed amendment for quite a different reason. He wanted that the object should give a clear idea as to what type of Self-government the League aimed to have. "What sort of Self-government", he asked, "For instance, there may be another sect who may want republican form of government". He thought that "Self-government on the colonial basis" should be the definite object of the League.

The Quaid then spoke. He stressed the great importance of the various amendments, and expressed the view that the Muslim League must answer the outside criticism. "If you will read the

old constitution of the League", he pointed out, "you will find that there is no programme of any kind laid down in our constitution; and that was a great lacuna."

Opposing Mazhar-ul-Haque's suggestion to insert in the constitution the phrase "self-government on colonial basis", the Quaid made the following points.

First, "the constitution of the self-governing colonies, *i.e.*, Cananda, Australia or South Africa, each one of the constitutions is different from the other . . . ." Secondly, "the very foundation of the colonial self-government . . . . is that certain people go there and colonize that place. That is not the case in this country." Thirdly, and he called it "the most important reason", if the idea of a 'Union' or a 'Federation' was adopted, then in his view it was absolute "because you do not know what may be the conditions and circumstances of the progress of India in future". Continuing he posed: "Is it possible for anyone today to say what will happen in India 100 years hence?" Discarding the idea of 'colonial self-government', 'Federation' or a 'Union', he elaborated his ideas on what he understood of self-government: "Self-government obviously means government of the people by the people."

After a prolonged and heated discussiosn, the Council recommended adoption of the proposed amendments.

Maulana Mohammad Ali, in the January 7, 1913 issue of the COMRADE discussed the amendments at length:

THE CREED OF THE MOSLEM LEAGUE

Although the Council of the All-India Moslem League had decided, as we had announced, on the suggestion of His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali, to hold no session of the League this year, it was subsequently resolved to convene a meeting of the Council of the League on the 31st December 1912, and to permit such members of the League as had previously announced their intention of attending the meeting to do so and to take part in its deliberations, though not in the voting. When the meeting was actually held, a further concession was made to the popular demand in permitting non-members also to express their opinions on the subjects under discussion as if they were ordinary members of the League.

Whatever may have been the motive of those who agreed to hold no session of the League this year, it is certain that they form a very small minority of the community whose destinies they desire to shape. In this respect, the Council of the League has proved no better than other committees of the Musalmans, which are composed of the holders of different opinions in quite a different proportion to that of the holders of similar views in the community at large, and often provoke a quarrel with the community with results very different from those on which they calculate. In fact, it is coming to be noticed that these bodies have got a psychology and an ethics much the same as the psychology and the ethics of the House of Lords in England, without its justification in an ancient tradition; and it will not take many years before they come to realise that in every quarrel which they provoke with the community they are likely to come off only second best.

The meeting of the Council held on the last day of the eventful year 1912 was practically in all respects a much curtailed session of the All-India Moslem League, except that the members of the League who were not permitted to vote returned home with a grievance, while the original purpose of displaying the customary suit of solemn black and maintaining a funeral demeanour was altogether frustrated. Alas for the vanity of human wishes, the meeting was as lively as it well could be imagined, and its temper had become unusually Radical on account of the unnatural restraints which the Conservative majority of the Council at the suggestion of two distinguished leaders of the community had decided to impose upon it. The Council certainly missed a well-prepared Presidential Address redolent of the fragrance of the midnight oil. But some important speeches which came straight from the heart and were racy of the soil compensated the audience for the absence of greater elaboration and cleverer political rope-dancing. It is true there were no new resolutions nor the repetition of some handy annuals which mostly serve the purpose of advertising the lesser known members of the League as proposers and seconders. But in the political creed of the League, which was formulated anew, this memorable session held within it the significance of a hundred resolutions, for it gave expression to a solid fact which no Viceroy or Secretary of State can unsettle.

Those rash generalisers who show in their actions even more than in their words that evolution is an abstruse expression only to be found in books on science but never in real life have not hesitated to accuse Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of having been

opposed for all time to Moslem participation in the politics of the country, to the National Congress and to the Hindu community. Those who knew the man in real life are the only true judges of his feelings towards his Hindu brethren; and we only wish that some of our Hindu and Moslem Nationalists could count as many true friends in what is often regarded as the rival community as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan possessed. In his writings and speeches, there is ample enough proof of his genuine desire to treat Hindus justly and co-operate with them for the creation of an Indian Nation. But his opinion on the Congress needs no intimate knowledge of the man himself, for it is manifest enough from his speeches and writings; and if due allowance is made for many speeches having been made impromptu, and for the occasions on which they were made, as well as the ardent temperament of the speaker himself, it would be apparent to all who read them that their author desired at best a temporary separation of the Musalmans from the Congress rather than their permanent abstention from political discussions or refusal to co-operate with other communities. We deem it a high honour to consider ourselves to be among the disciples of the Sage of Aligarh in political as well as religious and educational ideals, but we felt it no inconsistency in welcoming and even taking our humble part in bringing about the advent of the All-India Moslem League six years ago. And today, when that body has formulated self-government suitable for India as its political creed, we have no hesitation in saying that we have assisted in the matter in a way that would have met with the approval of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and his cordial and active encouragement had Providence spared him to guide today the policy of his community and his country.

When the officiating Honorary Secretary sent round the agenda of the Council meeting, the chief item of which was the consideration of a new draft of the League's rules and regulations, little did the members imagine that they were asked to consider one of the most vital questions concerning their community. But so it was. Hitherto the League had confined itself to the maintenance and promotion of feelings of loyalty in the Moslem community; to the advancement and protection of the interests of the Musalmans; and, without detriment to these two objects, the cultivation of harmony and good relations between the Musalmans and other communities. When these objects of the Moslem League were formulated, the community was going through a time of considerable uneasiness caused by the political affairs of the country. The Partition of Bengal had been carried

out only a year ago, and had created among the Hindus of Bengal an unrest which had no parallel in the political life of India. The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal felt, and rightly felt, that the Partition would do them immense good, and that the Hindu opposition to the Partition was to a large extent based on this very reason. They had, therefore, thrown in their lot with the Administration of the new Province, and the Musalmans of other parts of India felt bound to lend their moral support to their brethren in Eastern Bengal when the Congress took up the cause of the Hindus of Bengal as if it were a national cause and deserved the support of the whole of India. Moreover, soon after his arrival in India, Lord Minto took up the question of a reform of the Legislative Councils, and the Musalmans knew that the system of representation in legislation, and to some extent in the general administration, would probably be extended. Hitherto they had left their communal interest in the hands of the bureaucracy. But with the weakening of that bureaucracy it became necessary for them to rely on their own efforts, and having had no chance of representing the views of their community in the legislatures of India under the system of election then prevailing, they found it necessary to appeal to Lord Minto's Government, through the famous Simla Deputation, for the modification of the system under which they could never hope to have their interests properly represented until and unless an Indian Nation, which then appeared almost as far as ever, came into being. The recovery of the Musalmans from their political coma was hastened by the clearly indicated liberal intentions of the Government itself. But the first political acts of the Musalmans after a long period of suspended animation were bound to be intensely communal, because when the Moslem League came into being one fact was patent: that strong and self-asserting communities were claiming rights and privileges in the name of the Nation when they really meant to benefit only a community or even a caste. It was also apparent that at least a certain section of Hindus in Bengal, the Punjab and the Deccan entertained towards Government feelings that can hardly be described as loyal. It was, therefore, necessary for the Musalmans to express their own feelings of loyalty somewhat ostentatiously, not only with a view to impress Government with their firm intention of offering it their support, but also in the interests of the younger members of the community, some of whom were liable to lose their balance through the intoxication born of the heady wine of politics, of which they were taking the first copious draught after a long period of political teetotalism. This accounts for the fact that when the creed of the Moslem League was formulated for the

first time six years ago, both loyalty to Government and the protection of the communal interests of the Musalmans found a prominent place in the Moslem programme. No doubt the promotion of harmony and concord with other communities was mentioned as another object of the League. But it was necessary to add the saving clause that these feelings were to be promoted without prejudice to Moslem loyalty and the advancement of Moslem interests. Such was the creed of the League when it was founded; and those among the Musalmans who may now sneer at what was done six years ago would do well to remember that this creed was formulated by some of them and some of the most prominent men who share their views today.

In the matter of the electoral reform of the Legislative Councils, the Musalmans succeeded well enough, although they have yet to achieve success in the matter of the electoral reform of local bodies, which is extremely essential. But on the 12th December, 1911, the Partition was annulled when least expected; and it was annulled without any compensation being offered to the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. That momentous announcement is destined to have far-reaching results on the political growth of India, some of which are no doubt well worth learning for the Musalmans even at the cost of a majority in a province, although there are some lessons big with mischief which we trust Government will not now be late in persuading the people of this country to unlearn. But the despatch of the Government of India which moved the Home Government to authorise the changes it proposed would long be memorable for the bold plunge that the Government of India made into the political future of the country. Howsoever hard and subtly Lord Crewe may now try to explain away paragraph 3 of that despatch, it is certain that self-government loomed large before the vision of the Government of India; and be it said to their credit that they welcomed it like statesmen and indicated their desire to hasten its approach. In view of the momentous change foreshadowed in that despatch, it has once more become necessary for the Musalmans to examine their political chart; and while avoiding the submerged rocks in the perilous seas around them, they must turn the head of their ship towards the new haven. Eight hundred years of practical administration of a country is bound to create in any community a distaste for mere theorising and a practical instinct which is generally found to be much safer than the faculty of subtle reasoning. It was this instinct of the Musalmans that led them to work for their educational swaraj before they formulated their claims even to a moderate participation in the administration

of the country. But if the period of thirty years which intervened between the foundation of the Calcutta University and the establishment of the National Congress was just long enough for the new generation of Hindus to develop into manhood and strive for rights and privileges of at least political adolescence, the Muhammadans can neither be blamed for tardiness nor for undue haste if they, too, come forward to take their proper share in politics after the same interval after having established the nucleus of their future University; for, exactly 30 years intervened between the foundation of Aligarh and the establishment of the Moslem League. Today, when the Moslem League has placed self-government on its programme, it is true it has done so much earlier in the process of the political evolution of the community than the Hindus did. But it must be acknowledged that the Congress has done a good deal of pioneer work for it, and even travelling at the same pace as the Hindu community, the Musalmans were bound to come to the half-way-house from which their ultimate destination is clearly visible after a lesser interval than those who had to hew down the wood and clear the way.

But even now when the Musalmans have accepted self-government to be their ultimate destination they have not done so through a love of meritricious theories. Their practical instinct has once more come to their assistance, and that at a time when it was most necessary. We recognise that it would not do for any community in India to sulk in its tents, because the world is moving at a faster pace than it can cope with. It must either induce others to slacken their pace or make efforts to come into line with them. In the creed which has just been formulated by the League, we see a welcome indication that Musalmans are not going to act the part of King Canute and imperiously command the rushing tide to recede.

But they are not negligent of the proper safeguards against the flow of the tide which not only brings rich argosies to the shore, but sometimes deals destruction also. In the first place, we are glad to note that they have no desire to play the sedulous ape in asking for a particular form of self-government because somebody else enjoys it in the British Empire or someone in India has made it the ultimate ideal. The world has considerably changed even for the British Empire since the Allahabad Convention of the Congress, when the Colonial form of self-government became the creed of the Moderates. Ireland is likely to have self-government much sooner than it was considered possible at the time, and other parts of the United Kingdom are not likely to remain always without their own Parliaments. Again, it may be

that just as the form of self-government suitable for the Colonies has not proved suitable for Ireland, the forms of self-government now familiar to the British Empire may not suit India. Who can say that the same conditions as prevail in other parts of the Empire exist even today in this country? To take only one instance, are we to forget the Native States for ever; and may not the German Confederacy provide some political lessons for us when we turn our attention from British India, which is an artificial creation, to India as a whole which her geographical outlines and historical associations have made a compact integer? It is, therefore, a matter for extreme satisfaction that the words "suitable for India" qualify the system of self-government which is to be the ideal of the Moslem League.

In the next place, the framer of this important object of the League has gone beyond the commonplace phrase "through constitutional means" in giving an outline of the methods by which self-government is to be attained. It must be remembered that it had become necessary to qualify the methods of attaining self-government in this manner by the Moderates of the Congress, because there was such a party as the Extremists who desired no such restrictions to fetter their political liberty. The Muhammadans have no such need to define the character of the methods which they desire to pursue in order to attain their object, for there are no divisions among them like the Moderates and the Extremists; and if true moderation comes to exist among their "leaders", we have every confidence that they would avoid one more pitfall into which the political pioneers of India unfortunately fell. What is, however, necessary not only for the Musalmans but for all the communities that have new bottles into which the old wine is being poured, is an indication that the goal is yet very distant, if not dim, and that the way is long and wearisome. Idealism by all means but not without patience, is the advice that the young need in every emotional community; and the Musalmans owe it to the Hon. the Law Member, who in his freer days delivered the most remarkable Presidential Address of the League, that the Honorary Secretary in framing the creed of the League wisely included "a steady reform of the existing system of administration" as an indication of the slow process of attaining the *summum bonum*. Indian administration is far from perfect today, but the progress made during the last seven years has been so rapid, that even if the pace is not accelerated it will not take long for the country to reach its destined goal.

But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible.

nor even on the relationship that comes to exist between the rulers and the ruled, that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation, and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul, as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her self-government. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous ape in their methods of nation-making, as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal. Every country has within itself both centripetal and centrifugal political forces; but the powers of each of these differ according to the circumstances of each. In India, political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nation-makers in India we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted. India is to be *e pluribus unum*. Its unity would come out of its differences; but it must be remembered that unlike America, the lines of cleavage in India are not territorial but communal; and those who have seen the extra-territorial patriotism of the Musalmans during the present crisis will do well to remember that without ceasing to be Musalmans they cannot merge their communal identity in their territorial patriotism of province or country. All that we hope is that in adopting self-government as their goal with an astonishing unanimity, the Musalmans of India have not acted like the astronomer who fell into a well because his gaze was too intently fixed on other planets than his own. Disillusion will soon overtake them if they have forgotten their own political situation in this country in remembering too well the sad plight of their co-religionists in Tripoli and Morocco, in Persia and Turkey.

We have not spared the officiating Secretary of the Moslem League when to our mind he has been weak; but today we can find it in our heart to forgive him all and to thank him not only on behalf of the Moslem community but of the whole country and of the Nation in being for providing them with a political creed which is destined to affect the beliefs and convictions of the men of today and of generations yet to come.

We also offer him here, as Mr. Mohamed Ali did in the

course of discussion at Lucknow, our cordial support in maintaining that loyalty should be placed in the forefront of the objects of every political organisation in the country, and we have no more faith in the diagnosis of those who think that the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are the outcome of what they call the Moslem parade of loyalty and the Gate-keeper's claims than we find any justification in their taunts that the Musalmans have been shouting their loyalty from the housetops. A few calculating men have no doubt harped on loyalty too often, just as they have made much personal capital out of the protection of communal interests. But that is no more reason for giving up the profession of loyalty than for discarding the declaration that the League shall advance and protect communal interests. The loyalty of the Musalmans is a well established fact; and we shall not pause to make invidious comparisons, for, we have no desire that other communities should lag behind them in this respect. We trust that in course of time the loyalty of the whole of India would become so real and well-grounded that a declaration of loyalty in the political creed of any association will merely pass for a polite convention not unlike the oath of allegiance which the Members of Parliament in England and our own Councillors in India are reguired to take. So long as the political relationship of India to England is unique among the nations, it is necessary to keep the loyalty of India to the British Crown in the forefront of India's political creed; but even when this unique character ceases to exist, we trust the dignity of the Indian Nation would not be so delicate as to be unable to bear the weight of the convention of loyalty. And dignity should not be proclaimed from the housetops any more than loyalty. Today it is necessary to work for the creation of a nation by promoting unity between the various communities of the country and fostering a public spirit which would refuse to tolerate the self-aggrandisement even of the community that is most numerous and most powerful: and it is our firm belief that whatever may be the policy of this or that ruler of India, it is the connection of India with Great Britain which has made it possible for an Indian Nation to come into being. A nation would be the greatest blessing that England would confer on India; and those who work for it and hasten its advent, whether Indian or English, are deserving of our eternal gratitude.

When the amendments were submitted before the annual session, which was held from March 22 to 23, 1913, at Lucknow under the presidentship of Mian Mohammad Shafi, they were approved; and the creed was altered.

Certain amendments in other clauses of the constitution were as important as the alterations in the creed. The ordinary membership fee was reduced from Rs. 20 to Rs. 5 per annum. The educational qualification, *i.e.*, the capability of 'reading and writing' was replaced with 'facility of literacy', which meant the capability of writing one's name in any language. The maximum number of members of the Council was increased from 40 to 150. Any Muslim Association, within or outside British India, could be affiliated to the League; and the clause fixing the maximum number of members of the All India Muslim League at 800 was deleted.

While leaving the membership of the central body wide open to all literate Indian Muslims throughout British India and abroad; and while making its controlling body as representative as could be practicable, the Council was empowered to bring the activities of the various units of the organization in conformity with those of the parent body. It was further authorized to affiliate or disaffiliate any provincial, district or any other unit.

Certain changes, necessitated by organizational requirements, were brought about in the constitution in the 1919 annual session held at Amritsar. It was laid down that only those Muslims who were subjects of British India, or of a feudatory State of India, or of any other part of the British Empire, could become members of the League; but if they had been absent from India continuously for 5 years, they could not become its members. Provision was also made for the formation of a Subjects Committee at each session, with the power to draft, revise and consider the resolutions and place them before the session for its consideration. No resolution could be presented in the sessions unless it was approved by the Subjects Committee. The Subjects Committee consisted of members of the Council, representatives elected by the ordinary members, and delegates elected by each Provincial League, not exceeding one-half of the maximum number fixed for the Council from the province. The strength of the Council was increased from 150 to 300 members, and the fee of its membership was reduced to Rs. 12 per annum. Re-election of office bearers for more than two consecutive terms of three years was barred.

Only one slight addition was made in the "objectives".

The word 'religious' was added after the word 'political' in sub-clause (b). As a result the sub-clause read as under:

> " . . . to protect and advance the political, religious, and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans".

In subsequent years, the political activities assumed a completely different shape. Non-cooperation and passive resistance resulted in radical changes in the political atmosphere. Consequently, the League's objectives were re-defined. Sub-clause (a), which related to the maintenance and promotion of the feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown, was deleted. Deleted, too, was the sub-clause (d), which laid down: " . . . attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of self-government suitable to India" as the main object of the League. Sub-clause (a) was replaced with: " . . . the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means". Sub-clause (d) was replaced by another important and significant amendment. It introduced the concept of Pan-Islamism: " . . . to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries". The amendments were proposed by Maulana Mohammed Ali, seconded by Mohammad Hussain, Bar-at-Law (of Meerut), and supported by Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulvi Syed Majeed Baksh (of Jessore), and were incorporated in the constitution in the annual session held at Nagpur in 1920.

In the Ahmedabad session, held on December 30, 1921, Maulana Azad Subhani, under the direction of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, presented a resolution seeking to change the objective of the League:

> 'that the objective of the All India Muslim League is the demand of SWARAJ or complete independence free from all foreign control by all proper means'.

However, the resolution was defeated in the Subjects Committee by 36 to 23 votes.

Sub-clauses (b), (c) and (d) of the aims and objects remained effective till the bifurcation of the League after the Partition. Sub-clause (a), however, was replaced in the first instance in 1931 at the

Delhi session; for the second time in 1937 at the Lucknow session; and lastly at the 1941 Madras session.

Before dealing with the changes brought about in 1931 and subsequently, it may be mentioned that when by 1927 the Quaid had completed the second term as the president, and was not eligible for re-election, the constitution was amended; and the restriction in respect of re-election after two consecutive terms of three years each was removed. This amendment was made in the Calcutta sessions, held on December 30 and 31, 1927, and January 1, 1928.

The League had appointed at its Allahabad session held from December 29 to 30, 1930, a committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Qazi Masud Hasan and Sir Mohammad Yakub to revise and propose amendments to the constitution. The committee proposed that every adult Muslim resident of British India or of any of the Indian States or of any other part of the British Empire who signed the League's creed, could become its member. The committee also proposed further reduction in the annual fee of ordinary membership to Re. 1/- only. These proposals were adopted by the Delhi session held from December 26 to 27, 1931. The session, however, decided to make changes in the creed, though the committee had not suggested them. It was due to the boycott by most of the League members that Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan and those who were under the influence of the Muslim Conference were able to replace the sub-clause (a) of the aims and objects with the following: "...the attainment of full responsible government for India by all peaceful and legitimate means, with adequate and effective safeguards for Musalmans".

Provision was also made for the Members of the Central Legislatures to become *ex-officio* members of the Council on signing the League's creed and on payment of annual subscription. The members to the League Council were hitherto elected by the Provincial Leagues. This rule was changed. The Provincial Leagues elected nine-tenth of its members; while the remaining one-tenth were elected by the League in its annual sessions.

After re-election of the Quaid to the presidentship of the

League, in 1934, necessary steps were taken for altering its entire constitutional structure. Most of the changes were made in the Lucknow Session held from 15th to 18th October, 1937. The famous resolution moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, laying down " . . . the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a Federation of free democratic States in which the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution" was adopted in this session. It replaced sub-clause (a) of clause 2 of the constitution as the League's goal.

The Quaid was not in favour of qualifying the word 'independence'. He considered 'independence' to be a complete indivisible concept. Some leaders, however, insisted that the word should be preceded by either 'full' or 'complete'. The Indian National Congress had adopted as its goal the attainment of the "the complete independence". They wanted to define the League's objective also in similar terms.

Other changes affected the organizationl structure. Ordinary membership was made open to every British Indian Musalman of 18 years of age, with a nominal fee of two annas per year. The Council was empowered to elect its president from amongst those who were nominated by the Provincial Leagues. The office of the Vice President was abolished; and the tenure of other office-bearers was reduced to one year. Office-bearers of the All India Muslim League became the *ex-officio* members of the Provincial Councils and Working Committees. The strength of the Council was raised to 465, members being elected for one year by the Provincial Leagues. Fee for Council membership was reduced to Rs. 6 from Rs. 12. Maintenance of discipline was made the Council's responsibility. It was empowered to delegate authority to the Honorary Secretary. The Working Committee of the League till then was elected by the Council. In this session, the president was empowered to nominate its members.

The Central League did not have sufficient sources of income. The Provincial Leagues, therefore, were required to pay 10 per cent of their income to the parent body. The Provincial Leagues were given the power to select delegates for the sessions. The number of delegates was increased to three times the number fixed for the

membership of the Council. Only the Council members formed the Subjects Committee, the president having the power to nominate 15 persons from amongst the delegates as its additional members.

Members of the Muslim League Parties in the Provincial Legislatures were permitted to attend the League sessions as *ex-officio* delegates. The Working Committee was given more powers to enable it to take disciplinary action against members of the Council and against the Provincial League if they infringed or violated the League's decisions.

The Lahore Resolution became part of the League's creed in the Madras session held from April 12 to 15, 1941, when sub-clause (a) of section 2 of the constitution was replaced by it. After the amendment, the sub-clause read:

(a) The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign;

(b) That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above-mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them:

(c) That in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective, and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

No changes were effected in the remaining sub-clauses of section 2 except that they were renumbered as (d), (e) and (f). These aims and objects remained unaltered till the League was bifurcated after the Partition.

The League's last session was held at Karachi from December 24 to 26, 1943. Between the Madras and Karachi sessions, two sessions were held: one at Allahabad from 3rd to 6th April, 1942; and the other at Delhi from 25th to 26th April, 1943. In these two sessions, only a few minor changes were made in certain provisions of the League's constitution. In the Karachi session, however, provisions were made laying down the procedure for the formation of the Central Parliamentary Board, and defining its powers and functions.

In the Karachi Session a resolution was adopted on December 25, 1943, authorising the president to nominate a Committee of Action comprising of not more than six and not less than five members with wide powers for directing the activities of the League. Immediately thereafter on December 27, the Quaid announced the names of Nawab Ismail Khan (Chairman), G. M. Syed, Qazi Mohammad Isa, Haji Sattar Essak Seth, Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Convener) of the Committee. This Committee performed nearly all functions of the Council and of the Working Committee.

In the beginning, the League had a Central Committee of 40, its membership being distributed among the different provinces as under:

Agra and Oudh	8
Punjab	7
Bombay and Sind	4
Madras	2
NWFP and British Baluchistan	1
Upper Bengal, Behar and Orissa	7
Eastern Bengal and Assam	7
Berar, Central India and Ajmer	2
Burma	1
Indian States	1
	40

In the 1913 session, after the Central Committee was designated as 'Council', the number of its members was raised to 150. This strength was increased from time to time; and after the amendments in the 1943 session, the Council consisted of 475 elected members. Changes in the composition of the Council brought about in different sessions are tabulated below:

	1913	*1919*	*1931*	*1937*	*1943*
Delhi	2	4	10	15	15
United Provinces	25	50	50	70	70
Punjab	25	50	50	90	90
Bombay	14	28	20	30	30
Sind	—	—	10	25	25
Madras	9	18	18	20	20
NWFP	5	10	10	20	20
British Baluchistan	2	4	4	5	10
Bengal	30	60	60	100	100
Bihar	15	30	30	30	30
Orissa	—	—	—	10	10
Assam	6	12	12	25	25
Central Province & Berar	4	8	10	20	20
Central India, Ajmer	2	4	6	5	5
Burma	7	14	10	—	—
Indian States and Others	4	8	10	—	—
Coorg.	—	—	—	—	5
	150	300	310	465	475

All the presidents and secretaries of the Provincial Leagues and members of the Muslim League Parties in the Central Legislatures were given the status of *ex-officio* members, and had the same rights as other elected members. Casual vacancies were filled by the Council itself.

It would be observed that the League's constitution was amended whenever necessity arose in accordance with the requirements of time. As such, it was not a rigid constitution.

APPENDIX II

Letter dated May 19, 1909 from W. A. J. Archbold, Principal, M. O. A. College, addressed to Nawab Viqarul Mulk

THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE.
M. A. O. COLLEGE,
ALIGARH: U. P.

Dated, 19 May 1909

My dear Nawab Sahib.

I take as you know the deepest interest in the question of the political future of the Mohammedans and I venture to write down a few general suggestions which you may turn over in your mind as you go to Lucknow.

I am

Sincerely yours

W. A. J. Archbold.

THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE,
M. A. O. COLLEGE,
ALIGARH, U. P.

Dated 19. v. 1909

My dear Nawabsahib

The interests of the Mahomedans can be safeguarded at three periods, and either at one of those periods or at all of them; though protection at one ought to suffice.

These periods are:

(1) before the councils meet;
(2) in the meetings;
(3) after the meetings.

(1) Before the meetings.

This can be done by means of a preliminary committee which should review so as to send on to the council (or not) either (a) all proposed legislation or (b) such measures as specially affect one or other of the religious communities. This committee may be composed of Hindus Mahommedans & Englishmen in

THE PRINC PAL'S OFFICE.
M. A. O. COLLEGE,
ALIGARH, U. P.

Dated...190......

such proportions that the Hindus are equal to the Mahommedan & English members.

This plan has the advantage of preventing legislation which is likely to be objectionable to either community from being introduced before public feeling is excited. The veto might be [struck through] of such a nature as to prevent the re-introduction of the measure for a period of years though the wisdom of such a restriction would be doubtful.

(2) In the Councils.

This it is proposed to effect by making the numbers of the Mahommedan deputies such as to secure them from being hopelessly outvoted. As things are in India I see very small protection in any [struck through] slight increase that may be given

(3) After the Councils have voted.

There are several possible methods of protection at this stage.

(a) A second Chamber of revision where communities are equally represented or nearly so; such chamber being either for each province or for India as a whole.

(b) A temporary or final veto in the hands of one man.

(c) The requirement that in case the chief law officer states that a measure directly or nearly affects the interests of one community a majority of the representatives of that community must have voted in its favour.

This could be modified in various ways. If the measure were reported to be of the kind mentioned it might be sent back to the Council with the proviso that the voting power of the [illegible]

representatives of the community affected should be doubled.

There are I need hardly say other safeguards but they are complicated & the above really are at the basis of them. I am, Sincerely yours

W.A.J. Archbold.

19. v. 09.

P.S. It seems to me that it would be much better to try to secure at all events for a term of years the safeguards mentioned under (1) & (3) than to strive exclusively for the ~~representa~~ ~~tion~~ improved representation suggested under no(2)

APPENDIX III

A. Text of a letter by the Quaid, published in the Times of India, Mail Edition, on February 10, 1909.

Having regard to several letters published in the TIMES, and some of them reproduced in your paper, I wish to say a few words with regard to the proposal of Lord Morley and the attitude of the Mahomedans towards it.

We, as a community, are thankful to all, from Lord Morley and Lord Minto down to officers of different ranks and Englishmen generally, for their anxiety and vigilant care to secure for the Mahomedans an adequate and substantial representation in the Scheme; and for the matter of that the Hindus throughout the country do not deny the Mahomedan claim that they should have a real share and substantial voice in the affairs of the country. I am sure they would readily agree to any scheme of suggestion which will bring about that result in the present reforms.

So *a priori*, I start with this: that the Mahomedans are entitled to a real and substantial representation in the reforms. To my mind the difficult question is how to do it.

Now it is needless to discuss the demand of the Mahomedan community to have a Mahomedan in the Imperial Executive Council, after the reply of Lord Morley to the All India Moslem League branch deputation. I think the tenor of that reply was fully expected by all thoughtful Mahomedans in the country. We all know the main idea of throwing open the Executive Council to us is to show that the highest office in the land can be attained by us; and further, there is no doubt that an Indian of high calibre and talents will be of the greatest use and good to the country and the Government, be he a Hindu or a Mahomedan. Similarly, the Secretary of State and the Government, with whom will rest this appointment, will not hesitate to appoint a Mahomedan because he is a Mahomedan. An appointment of such high office will be made entirely on individual merit and qualifications, and a qualified Mahomedan will stand just as much chance of being appointed as a qualified Hindu. I for one do not agree with the school that holds that a post or

position must be given to a Mahomedan as such. I claim an adequate share for the Mahomedans, provided that qualified Mahomedans are available.

Then the only other controversial point is whether the demand of separate electorates at all stages from Rural Boards to the Viceregal Council should be granted. Before this question can be answered, let us see what the Scheme framed by Lord Morley provided for the Mahomedans? No doubt, it is a very complicated and difficult problem when you have to work through stages of Electoral Colleges. But in the end it comes to this: that out of those offering themselves and obtaining votes, 75 Hindus who obtained the majority of votes should be declared members of the College; and 25 Musalmans who obtained the majority should similarly be declared elected. If the Musalmans returned did not provide 25 members for the Electoral College containing 75 Hindus and 25 Musalmans, that body would be called upon to elect three representatives for the Hindus and one for the Musalmans. Each member of the College would have only one vote and could vote only for one candidate.

Now, this further explained in the light of the letter of Lord Macdonell in the TIMES, no doubt secures to the Mahomedans one seat out of four if all the Musalmans, that is 25, stick together and vote solid for one candidate. But will that be the result in practice? What seems sound in theory will not stand the test of practical working. The first objection to it is that the College will get Mahomedan members from various bodies, composed of mixed votes, Hindus and Mahomedans; and in the course of elections at various stages, you will get Mahomedans who will probably be pledged to the Hindus' views, Hindus being more powerful throughout. So in theory, you have 25 Musalmans; but in reality the number is subject to certain discount. Secondly, in a mixed electorate, such as the College aforesaid, you must bear in mind other considerations and influences which will go to work, such as human nature, self-interest, personal considerations, etc. Therefore, the Scheme as it stands now for all practical and real purposes does not secure to the Mahomedans the reasonable certainity of returning their real representative; whereas communal representation at

once for certainty secures them a real representative. But I for one am not for destroying the most excellent scheme of Lord Morley. Let us consider whether this, otherwise the very best scheme, can be modified. All that the Mahomedans want is a potential voice in the College so as to return their real representative; and this is, after all said and done, the main point of contention. Now, cannot the proportion 1/4 or 25 out of 100 be increased to 1/3 or 33 out of 100, or some such proportions? If this can be done, then one can account for all circumstances and contingencies and whatever they may suffer by way of disadvantage due to mixed elections from Rural Boards upward. Still it will leave a percentage, a sufficient number which one could call a real and potential voice of the Mahomedans in the College. I am fully conscious of the fact that the ratio suggested is more than the proportionate population of Hindus and Mahomedans. But I think in the practical working it will maintain a proper balance; and after all, this is what Lord Morley himself says:

> " . . . The object of Government was that the Legislative Councils should represent truly and effectively with reasonable approach to the balance of real social forces the wishes and needs of the communities concerned. This could not be done by algebra, arithematic, geometry or logic but by a wide outlook."

Lord Morley saw no harm as to a compromise that while numbers should be main factors in determining the extent of representation, modifying causes might influence the number of representatives. It seems there are modifying causes in India, more so with regard to Hindu-Mahomedan adjustment; and number or population cannot be the sole guide. I sure feel that if the Scheme be modified, it will have the support of the Mahomedans, and I am equally sure that our Hindu brothers will fall in with it readily. The Scheme is calculated to bring the Mahomedans and Hindus together on a common platform. It will enable them to learn each other's views and cooperate. In fact it goes to unite them in every direction, and will, in course of time, nationalize them.

If this is not feasible, then I am afraid we must resort to communal representation. Enough has been said on this point;

so I do not wish to add to it. I only wish to say this that in that case let the electorate be free to choose its representative, a Mahomedan or non-Mahomedan. Let there be no restriction or limitation placed upon their choice. Once we get the Mahomedan electorate, pure and simple, let it choose its representative, whether he be a Mahomedan or non-Mahomedan. There are various reasons for which I should like the electorate to be left free in this respect. 100 to 1, we shall elect a Mahomedan; but there may be circumstances and reasons when we may find that a non-Mahomedan is better able to represent us. Why should we forego that by a limitation which may work against us under given circumstances?

B. Text of the resolution proposed by the Quaid in the meeting of Muslims of Bombay, held on August 2, 1909.

> "This meeting earnestly urges upon the Government to form separate Musalman electorates in consultation with Musalman leaders."

APPENDIX IV

Proposals for Hindu-Muslim settlement evolved at the Conference of Muslim Leaders, held at Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, on March 20, 1927.

It was unanimously resolved that the Mohammedans should accept a settlement on the basis of the following, so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution is concerned:

(1) Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province.

(2) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan on the same footings as in any other province in India.

If this is agreed to, Musalmans are prepared to accept joint electorates in all provinces so constituted, and are further willing to make to Hindu minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Muslim minorities.

In the Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with population.

In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third, and that also by a mixed electorate.

These proposals are subject to ratification by the Muslim organizations concerned, but it was hoped by those present at the conference that the Hindus would accept and the Musalmans would ratify them.

The question of the Services and other questions with regard to safeguards concerning any bill or resolution which might affect the religion, or the customs or the usages of either community, or affecting inter-communal interests were also discussed by the meetings, but postponed for further consideration and will be taken up, if on the main proposition there can be unanimity of opinion.

INDEX